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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE
Subcommittee on

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENTS

MAY 1, 1953

PART 5

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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ASSASSINATION,
OF THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY,
OF THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
AND OF THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY.

Room 700, P. O.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to call, in the 700
Room (Office Building), Senator William E. Jenner (Indiana), of the
majority, presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner (presiding) and William E. Jenner (Indiana).

Also present: Robert F. Kennedy (New York), and William E. Jenner (Indiana).

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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION,
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to call, in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner (presiding) and Welker.

Present also: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Robert McManus, staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We will call the first witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fitzgerald.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you hold up your right hand and be sworn to testify?

Do you swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be seated.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD J. FITZGERALD, NEW YORK, N. Y. (ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MILTON H. FRIEDMAN, NEW YORK, N. Y.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Edward J. Fitzgerald.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business or profession?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am a free lance writer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the two witnesses we have summoned here this morning were mentioned in the Government top-secret memorandum which has been referred to earlier in these hearings. That was the memorandum that was first revealed by Vice President Nixon when he was Congressman on the floor of the Senate. This memorandum was dated in November 1945. This particular memorandum

bears the date of November 1945. We have a paragraph which reads as follows:

"they are now talking about espionage rings in Government:

The head of the next most important group of Soviet espionage agents with whom Bentley has maintained liaison was Victor Perlo of the War Production Board. Members of this group were introduced to Bentley in 1944 at the apartment of John Abt, general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in New York City. The individuals in this group include Charles Kramer. The next name is Harry Magdoff of the War Production Board, Edward Fitzgerald, formerly of the Treasury Department and then with the War Production Board.

Now, it is those last two witnesses we have summoned here this morning in connection with this evidence which was presented to the Government in November 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fitzgerald, what is your present occupation?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Free lance writer.

Mr. MORRIS. For whom do you write? Who are some of your clients?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Various magazines such as Saturday Review of Literature, the Herald Tribune Book Section, sometimes the Times Book Section.

Mr. MORRIS. When you say the Times you mean the New York Times?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The New York Times.

Mr. MORRIS. For how long have you been a book reviewer?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Two or three years.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that principally the source of your income, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That and other writings.

Mr. MORRIS. Give us a general idea of what other writing you do.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have written fiction for Confession Magazine.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with your book reviews, do you use your own name, Edward Fitzgerald, or another name?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I use my own name. I wish to correct that in the statement I made at the executive session yesterday. On some occasions when I am reviewing the same book for more than one publication, they either don't have it signed or put another name on it.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the reason for your using a name other than your own as a book reviewer?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the name you do use?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The only one I know of is Martin Rice. Sometimes they put others on.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, at the end of the executive session yesterday we asked the witness to compile for us today a list of the books that he has reviewed for the three publications that he has mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. We asked him to do the best he could. His data he said was in New York.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I can list quite a number of them for you verbally. I can make up a list for you in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. In the meantime, Mr. Mandel, director of research for the subcommittee, has obtained from these three publications a list of books. So on the idea that Mr. Mandel's compilation, because at

least it was studied, would be more thorough than yours, at the same time if you hear of anything that Mr. Mandel leaves out, you may correct it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mandel, will you proceed and read into the record the list of books and book reviews?

Mr. MANDEL. The following is a letter from the New York Times, dated April 30, 1953, signed by Francis Brown, the book review editor, sent at my request. It reads as follows:

Here is the information I told you over the phone I would send you by letter about Edward J. Fitzgerald. Our records show that he has reviewed only six times for us and on each occasion his reviews dealt only with fiction of secondary importance. The list is as follows: Fortress in the Rice, by Benjamin Appel, October 28, 1951—

Mr. MORRIS. Inasmuch as Mr. Mandel has some lists in the other letters, may those lists just go in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be introduced in the record and be made a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. However, before going in, may they be shown to the witness?

Is that list accurate?

Mr. FITZGERALD. As far as I remember.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 86" and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 86

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW,
New York, N. Y., April 30, 1953.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,
*Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MANDEL: Here is the information I told you over the phone I would send you by letter about Edward J. Fitzgerald. Our records show that he has reviewed only six times for us and on each occasion his reviews dealt only with fiction of secondary importance. The list is as follows, with issue in which review appeared:

Fortress in the Rice, by Benjamin Appel, October 28, 1951
A Terrace in the Sun, by Cecil Roberts, November 25, 1951
Lady of the Mohawks, by Margaret Widdemer, December 2, 1951
Swing Shift, by Margaret Graham, January 6, 1952
The Citadel of the Lakes, by Myron David Orr, February 3, 1952
Length of Rope, by Monroe Engel, July 6, 1952

I hope this information will be of use to you.

Sincerely,

FRANCIS BROWN, *Editor.*

Mr. MANDEL. The next is a letter from Raymond Walters, Jr., of the Saturday Review of Literature, giving a list of books reviewed by Edward J. Fitzgerald, some being published under the pseudonym of Martin Rice.

Mr. MORRIS. How many are on that list, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. About 53 books.

Mr. FITZGERALD. This only covers this year. I have reviewed for them before this year.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just the work you have done this year?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I take it, from the list.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 87" and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 87

THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE,
New York, N. Y., April 30, 1935.

Mr. MANDEL,

*Care of Senate Internal Security Committee (Jenner Committee),
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MANDEL: Complying with your telephone request of this afternoon, I enclose a complete list of all reviews for the Saturday Review written by Edward J. Fitzgerald during 1953. Some of these were published under Mr. Fitzgerald's pseudonym, Martin Rice.

Yours very truly,

RAYMOND WALTERS, JR.

EDWARD J. FITZGERALD'S REVIEWS FOR THE SATURDAY REVIEW, JANUARY-MAY 1953

January 3, 1953: Many Mansions, by Isabel Bolton; Trial by Darkness, by Charles Gorham.

January 10, 1953: All Done by Kindness, by Doris Langley Moore; Witches Three, by Fritz Leiber.

January 17, 1953: Fact, Fiction, or Fantasy (article), Apricot Sky, by Ruby Ferguson; The Refugee Centaur, by Antoniorrobles; Hell's Kitchen, by Benjamin Appel; Jemima, by Oriel Malet.

January 24, 1953: Stars in the Water, by John Appleby; Family Album, by Antonia Ridge; The Worm Ouroboros, by E. R. Eddison; Neely, by Walter Karig; The Drinker, by Hans Fallada.

January 31, 1953: Tides of Time, by Emile Danoen; The Gentle Kingdom of Giacomo, by Evelyn Wells; The Medicine Whip, by Margaret and John Harris.

February 7, 1953: Only the Unafraid, by David Jordan; The Red Gate, by LaSalle Gilman; In the Morning Light, by Charles Angoff; To Keep Us Free, by Marguerite Allis; Draw Near To Battle, by Jere Wheelwright (February 14, 1953).

February 21, 1953: Signs and Wonders, by Leo Brady; The Money Song, by Arnold Shaw.

February 28, 1953: The Man From Brazil, by E. B. Garside; A Buyer's Market, by Anthony Powell; Monsoon Quarter, by Marion Lowndes; The Captain Comes to Eden, by Ethel Gardner; The Happy People, by Sara Jenkins; The Easter Party, by V. Sackville-West; Nine to Five, by W. H. Prosser.

March 7, 1953: Blind Date, by Berta Ruck; Landfall, by Helen Hull; The Intruder, by Helen Fowler; The Rift in the Lute, by Noel Langley.

March 14, 1953: The Housewarming, by George Sklar; To Follow a Flag, by Will Henry.

March 21, 1953: This Happy Rural Seat, by George Lanning; The Bracelet, by Beatrice Page.

March 28, 1953: Denham Proper, by Alfred Slote; The Wreck of the Russing Gale, by Garland Roark; Make Me an Offer, by Wolf Mankowitz; War Bonnet, by Clay Fisher; The Southpaw, by Mark Harris (April 11, 1953).

April 18, 1953: The Tiger in the Summer, by Michael Keon; Voices in the House, by John Sedges; Captain Adam, by Donald Barr Chidsey; Swan's Harbor, by Eleanor Mayo; Torbeg, by Grace Campbell; A King Reluctant, by Vaughan Wilkins; A Bright Battalion, by Howard Breslin.

April 25, 1953: The Silent Reefs, by Dorothy Cottrell.

May 2, 1953: Golden Admiral, by F. Van Wyck Mason; The Golden Season, by Oriana Atkinson.

Mr. MANDEL. The next is a list that was transmitted by telephone to me from Irita Van Doren, literary editor, New York Herald Tribune. It lists the titles of the books reviewed by Edward Fitzgerald and the dates.

Mr. MORRIS. How many are on that list, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. Approximately 50.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that list seem to be accurate?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes; as far as I know.

(The list referred to was marked exhibit No. 88 and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 88

BOOK REVIEW, NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
New York, N. Y., May 1, 1953.

SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

(Attention: Mr. Mandel, Research Director.)

DEAR MR. MANDEL: At your request, I am enclosing a copy of the list of books, with dates, reviewed by Edward J. Fitzgerald for the Herald Tribune Book Review. This is the same list which was given by telephone to your secretary yesterday. As I pointed out, Mr. Fitzgerald has never been a member of the staff of the Herald Tribune. He was a free-lance writer and, with three exceptions, reviewed for the Herald Tribune only unimportant and nonpolitical novels. The three exceptions were: a Best Humor Annual, Smith's London Journal, a noncontroversial travel journal, and The Mark Hellinger Story, a breezy biography of a newspaper columnist and Hollywood producer.

Very truly yours,

IRITA VAN DOREN, *Editor.*

BOOKS REVIEWED BY EDWARD J. FITZGERALD, NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK
REVIEW, JANUARY 6, 1952, THROUGH APRIL 26, 1953

The Best of the Best American Short Stories, January 6, 1952

Story, January 6, 1952

The Pillar, February 17, 1952

The Gifted, March 23, 1952

Every Crazy Wind, March 23, 1952

Faraway the Spring, April 6, 1952

Children of Kaywana, August 24, 1952

Escape From Paradise, August 31, 1952

The Tightrope, August 31, 1952

The Green Land, September 6, 1952

Grenadine's Spawn, September 14, 1952

Trespass, September 14, 1952

To End the Night, September 21, 1952

Young Man on a Dolphin, September 21, 1952

Blessing of the Hounds, September 28, 1952

The Road, October 5, 1952

Whomsoever I Shall Kiss, October 26, 1952

How Thin the Veil, October 26, 1952

Trial by Darkness, November 2, 1952

Debut, November 9, 1952

Best Humor Annual, November 9, 1952

Smith's London Journal, November 16, 1952

Mrs. Tim Flies Home, November 23, 1952

The Bounty Lands, November 23, 1952

Copperhead Moon, November 23, 1952

Out of the Dust, November 23, 1952

House of earth, November 23, 1952

The Mark Hellinger Story, November 30, 1952

Homer Christ, November 30, 1952

Traitor's Moon, December 7, 1952

The Drinker, January 11, 1953

The Galileans, January 25, 1953

I Should Live so Long, February 1, 1953

Torbeg, April 5, 1953

New Heaven, New Earth, April 19, 1953

Picaroan, April 26, 1953

The Moon is our Lantern, April 26, 1953

MR. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Fitzgerald, are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fitzgerald, have you heard my reading of the memorandum, the top secret memorandum dated November 1945 about your participation in the Soviet espionage ring operating among Government employees in Washington?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have heard it, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the espionage ring described in that memorandum?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Victor Perlo who was named here as head of the ring?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the Mr. John Abt named in this memorandum?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. Charles Kramer mentioned in this memorandum?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. Harry Magdoff mentioned in the memorandum?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the woman Elizabeth Bentley named in this memorandum?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. How many academic degrees have you achieved?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have a Ph. D. degree from the University of Vermont.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. FITZGERALD. 1932.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you do any postgraduate work?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did take some courses at the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you hold any degree in the University of Pennsylvania?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No, I do not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Fitzgerald, were you a Communist when you graduated from the University of Vermont in 1932?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your first employment after you finished the university?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe that was when I worked for the Sheffield Farm Co.

Mr. MORRIS. You did some work in genetics, did you not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That I think was later. I am not exactly sure of the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you do work for Eugenic Survey in Burlington, Vt., from September to October 1933?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Those dates sound right.

Mr. MORRIS. As a research assistant?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Then in 1936 did you again work with the Eugenic Survey as a research assistant?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was your first Government employment the national research project?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It was.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us the circumstances leading up to your employment with the United States Government in the national research project?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean, Mr. Fitzgerald, if you told us the circumstances leading up to your employment by the national research project, that you would be putting into the record evidence that would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult with my attorney?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was David Weintraub the head of that organization?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Irving Kaplan one of his assistants at that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes; he was.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Mr. Weintraub aid you in any way in getting your employment with the national research project?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know David Weintraub?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know and have dealings with Irving Kaplan?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have had David Weintraub before this committee. David Weintraub denied at the time he was in the national research project that he was a Communist. On the other hand we have testimony from Whittaker Chambers who testified that Weintraub and his assistant Irving Kaplan were both members of the Communist Party. We asked Mr. Irving Kaplan about that testimony. He invoked his privilege and refused to answer.

The two preceding witnesses in this present series of hearings, Mr. Jacob Grauman, who was until last month in the International Bank for Reconstruction, and Mr. Harry Ober, who was until October of last year when he was summoned before this committee, an official of the Department of Labor, both according to our records, were employees of the National Research Project and from that point on they proceeded to get other jobs in the United States Government. Both of them when asked about the evidence in the record, when asked about Communist Party membership, both invoked their privilege and refused to answer. This witness and the following witness both commenced their employment in the National Research Project.

Senator WELKER. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. What was the nature of your work in the National Research Project?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Economic research work.

Senator WELKER. Can you describe it to the committee, please?

Mr. FITZGERALD. We were conducting studies on the reemployment opportunities and my particular work was in connection with labor markets. I did a study in Pennsylvania, Brazil, Indiana, and one general study on farm-city migration.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this national research project, was that not organized by Harry Hopkins?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. It started out in December of 1935, did it not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe I sought employment there in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it not organized out of WPA funds?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It was part of the WPA; yes sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell this committee if part of your research work or those of your associates had to do with the unemployed people of this country counting squirrels?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't understand the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they had a project under WPA out in my State where they were counting the squirrels. Was that part of your research study?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I had nothing to do with counting squirrels.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about building the dog-houses down in Tennessee?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fitzgerald, how long did you remain with the national research project?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe it was until February 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. I noticed you commenced your employment with the Federal Security Agency on February 20, 1941, Mr. Fitzgerald.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that mean you worked for the National Research Project up until that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you left the National Research Project to take up employment with the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties with the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was research assistant there.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get into the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. Did you make application for the job, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult with counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I cannot remember if I made formal application. I presume I did.

Senator WELKER. Did anyone suggest to you transferring from national research project to FSA?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mandel, do you have a record there of this witness' application, and if so, would you read from his record, his application, to refresh his memory as to how he got his job with the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. MANDEL. The application for the Work Progress Administration position shows that he has listed a number of references on that sheet.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read them?

Mr. MANDEL. Among them are Irving Kaplan, Harry Magdoff, George Perazich, Gladys Palmer, and Edmond J. Stone.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I would like to ask the witness if you know any of those people just named in that application.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer that question?

Mr. FITZGERALD. On the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the fifth amendment because it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this application is apparently the witness' application for his employment with the Federal Security Agency because he mentions in this application that his present employment was with the Works Progress Administration. Now, you had only one such employment, did you not, Mr. Fitzgerald, with the Works Progress Administration?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. If you applied for your next job from the Works Progress Administration, it was for this job at Federal Security Agency, is that right?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Show the witness the exhibit, point out to him his signature and ask him whether or not that is his signature.

Senator WELKER. Directing your attention, Mr. Fitzgerald, to the signature that appears on the bottom of the application, will you state for the record whether or not that is your signature?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer that that is your signature?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know at that time Mr. Irving Kaplan?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer the question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Perazich at that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Gladys Palmer?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Edmond J. Stone at that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us a brief description of your duties with the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was research assistant working mostly on problems of the self-employed in relation to the possibilities of bringing them under the social-security system.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay in that job?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe it was approximately 6 months.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your next Government employment, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. With the Federal Works Agency.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you commence to work with the Federal Works Agency in June 17, 1941?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That date sounds approximately correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Who aided you in getting that particular job?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, will you read from the application as to whom he gave as references when he made application to the Federal Works Agency?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give Mr. Irving Kaplan as a reference for this position, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(The witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give Edmond J. Stone as reference for this particular position?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. George Perazich?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. David Weintraub?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give Senator Welker as reference for that job?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You what?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Meriam C. West?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your next Government employment, Mr. Fitzgerald? You then went to the War Production Board, did you not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to the War Production Board on March 5, 1942?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That sounds approximately correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties with the War Production Board?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was again a research economist.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give V. Lewis Bassie as your reference?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give Irving Kaplan as reference?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with these questions concerning the names which appear on the various applications of Mr. Fitzgerald, I recommend that they all be put into the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

Exhibit No. 89: Form application 8 dated Nov. 6, 1940, inserted into the record by reference and filed in the committee files. On the application appeared the following people as references: Irving Kaplan, Harry Magdoff, George Perazich, Gladys Palmer, Edmund J. Stone.

Exhibit No. 90: Application for position dated Feb. 13, 1943, inserted into the record by reference and filed in the committee files. On the application appeared the following references: Irving Kaplan, Edmund J. Stone, George Perazich, David Weintraub, Merian C. West.

APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

[illegible]

EXHIBIT No. 92—Continued

<p>Washington, D. C. Mar. 9 - 41 - July 22 - 41</p> <p>War Production Board Social Security Div. Washington, D. C.</p> <p>(Government)</p> <p>193-139</p> <p>V. L. Buehler Chief, Industry Analysis Sect. To take other part.</p>	<p>John. Economist 1939 1940</p> <p>As Assistant to Chief of Industry Analysis Section and as Chief of Facilities Utilization Section to plan and develop analyses of facilities utilization for War Production and to prepare regular and special analyses for presentation to the monthly meeting of the War Production Board</p> <p>As Chief of the Facilities Utilization Section to conduct a monthly survey of, and to report on, operations in the Metal Products Industries</p>
<p>Washington, D. C. June 11 - 41 - Sep. 1 - 41</p> <p>National Research Agency Executive Div. Washington, D. C.</p> <p>(Government)</p> <p>6</p> <p>Richard Adams</p>	<p>John. Economist 1939 1940</p> <p>As Chief of the Economic Research on Housing - with particular reference to surveys on management problems and preparation of analyses on progress in management of public housing.</p>
<p>For better position in War Work Washington, D. C. Feb. 11 - 41 - June 1 - 41</p> <p>National Security Agency Washington, D. C.</p> <p>(Government)</p>	<p>John. Economist 1939 1940</p> <p>As Chief of the Economic Research on the Social Security Problems of the Self-Employed</p>
<p>J. Rafter To take position with Federal Reserve Agency Washington, D. C. Oct. 1 - 41 - Feb. 1 - 42</p> <p>National Research Project Washington, D. C.</p> <p>(Government)</p>	<p>John. Economist 1939 1940</p> <p>As change of all work on labor market analyses, with responsibility for drafting later draft Section of Agency's final report (see attached)</p>
<p>David Hirschman To take position with National Security Agency</p>	

EXHIBIT No. 92—Continued

CONTINUATION SHEET

Standard Form No. 58
Revised April 4, 1943
U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
U. S. Dept. of the Interior

For Question 27, "Application for Federal Employment," Standard Form No. 57

1. Date of last official duty and post: 11/19/41
2. Name of organization of individual as an independent contractor: None

3. Name of last employer, last duty station, and last address: **UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR**

4. Name of last employer, last duty station, and last address: **UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR**

Position: **Washington, D. C.** Date: **11/19/41** To: **11/19/41** From: **11/19/41** Salary: **\$1,000**

Grade of employee: **Supervisory Survey** Duties and responsibilities: **General research, - Main Investigator and editing of report "The American"**

Address: **Washington, D. C.**

Kind of business or organization: **Government**

Number and class of employees you supervised: **None**

Position for previous: **Washington, D. C.**

Date: **11/19/41** To: **11/19/41** From: **11/19/41** Salary: **\$1,000**

Grade of employee: **Supervisory Survey** Duties and responsibilities: **Article editing and technical editing**

Address: **Washington, D. C.**

Kind of business or organization: **Government**

Number and class of employees you supervised: **None**

Position for previous: **Washington, D. C.**

Date: **11/19/41** To: **11/19/41** From: **11/19/41** Salary: **\$1,000**

Grade of employee: **Supervisory Survey** Duties and responsibilities: **General Survey Investigation**

Address: **Washington, D. C.**

Kind of business or organization: **Government**

Number and class of employees you supervised: **None**

Position for previous: **Washington, D. C.**

Date: **11/19/41** To: **11/19/41** From: **11/19/41** Salary: **\$1,000**

Grade of employee: **Supervisory Survey** Duties and responsibilities: **General Survey Investigation**

Address: **Washington, D. C.**

Kind of business or organization: **Government**

Number and class of employees you supervised: **None**

Position for previous: **Washington, D. C.**

Date: **11/19/41** To: **11/19/41** From: **11/19/41** Salary: **\$1,000**

Grade of employee: **Supervisory Survey** Duties and responsibilities: **General Survey Investigation**

Address: **Washington, D. C.**

Kind of business or organization: **Government**

Number and class of employees you supervised: **None**

Position for previous: **Washington, D. C.**

Date: **11/19/41** To: **11/19/41** From: **11/19/41** Salary: **\$1,000**

Grade of employee: **Supervisory Survey** Duties and responsibilities: **General Survey Investigation**

Address: **Washington, D. C.**

EXHIBIT No. 92—Continued

Brief on position with National Research Project - Oct. 1936 to Feb. 1941

<u>Date</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Name of Employer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Duties</u>	<u>Salary</u>
Feb. 12/36	12/36	12/36	National Research Project	Senior Interviewer	Contact field investigation on technological and reemployment opportunities.	1600
Feb. 12/36	2/37	2/37	National Research Project	Assistant Sociologist	Supervise field survey on technological change and reemployment opportunities.	2400
Feb. 4/37	7/37	7/37	National Research Project	Research Sociologist	Prepare analyses of effect on technological change on reemployment opportunities in specific labor markets.	2800
Feb. 7/37	7/38	7/38	National Research Project	Sociologist	Independently to complete 1938 for publication reports on labor market conditions in Lancaster, Pa., and Bristol, Ind.	2800
Feb. 7/38	9/40	9/40	National Research Project	Senior Sociologist	To collect and analyze, and to prepare reports on the relationship of industrial changes to rural urban migration.	3000
Feb. 9/40	2/41	2/41	National Research Project	Senior Sociologist	In charge of all work on labor market analyses with responsibility for drafting labor market section of Project's final report.	3500

In the course of this work I had responsibility for supervising a staff of some thirty field investigators and professional assistants and an appropriate complement of clerical and stenographic personnel.

EXHIBIT No. 92—Continued

[illegible]

EXHIBIT No. 93

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington 25, D. C., April 27, 1953.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Notice to individuals: This record should be preserved. Additional copies of service histories cannot be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.

Name: Fitzgerald, Edward J.

Date of birth : 11-19-11.

Authority for original appointment (Examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive Order, Law, or other exemption): Section 2, Rule VIII.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
Feb. 20, 1941.....	Temporary appointment.....	Associate economist, P-3, \$3,200 per annum, Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, analysis, Washington, D. C.
June 16, 1941.....	Termination (by resignation voluntary) to accept position with Federal Works Agency).	
June 17, 1941.....	Probational appointment (public employment office specialist) (Opt. 3) (\$3.00).	Social economist, P-4, \$3,800 per annum, Federal Works Agency, Office of the Administrator, Washington, D. C.
Mar. 4, 1942.....	Separation-transfer.....	
Mar. 5, 1942.....	Appointment by transfer (Executive Order 9067).	Senior production progress analyst, P-5, \$4,600 per annum, War Production Board, Office of Progress Reports Plants Utilization, Washington, D. C.
Oct. 16, 1942.....	Intra-division transfer.....	Principal economist, P-6, \$5,600 per annum, War Production Board, office of deputy chairman on program progress, Office of Progress Reports, Washington, D. C.
Sept. 21, 1944.....	Separation-transfer (to Foreign Economic Administration without reemployment rights).	
Sept. 22, 1944.....	Appointment by transfer (Regulation IX, sec. 2b).	Adviser on program statistics, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, Office for Emergency Management, Foreign Economic Administration, Office of the Administrator, Washington, D. C.
Nov. 16, 1944.....	Transfer and reassignment (DC 257, revision 3).	Foreign Affairs Economist Chief, Property Relations Division, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, Office for Emergency Management, Foreign Economic Administration, Bureau of Areas, Liberated Areas Branch, Washington, D. C.
Feb. 16, 1945.....	Transfer and reassignment (DC 257, revision 3).	Adviser on program statistics, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, Office for Emergency Management, Office of Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration, Washington, D. C.
Sept. 26, 1945.....	Separation-transfer.....	
Sept. 27, 1945.....	Appointment by transfer (DC 536 11A).	Economic analyst, P-6, \$7,070 per annum, Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 18, 1945.....	Transfer (transfer of personnel under department order No. 10, dated Dec. 11, 1945).	Economic analyst, P-6, \$7,070 per annum, Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Office of Business Economics, Washington, D. C.
July 27, 1946.....	Intra-departmental transfer.....	Assistant Chief, Current Business Analysis Division, P-6, \$8,059.60 per annum, Commerce, Office of the Secretary, Office of Program Planning, Washington, D. C.
Sept. 19, 1947.....	Resignation	Social science analyst, P-7, \$8,179.50 per annum.

The above transcript of service history does not include salary changes, intra-agency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report such actions to the Commission.

A. M. DEEM,
Chief, Audit Section.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you give us a brief job description of your employment at this time? That is, for the War Production Board.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Most of the time in the War Production Board I was in, I think it was variously titled. Mostly I think the Office of Program Progress. My particular responsibility was the conduct of a monthly survey of employment in various plants over the country.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in September 1944 you became an adviser on program statistics for the Office of Emergency Management, did you not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Office of Emergency Management does not sound—

Mr. MORRIS. That is for the Foreign Economics Administration.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That may be so. The title does not mean anything to me.

Senator WELKER. I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. While you were with the War Production Board did you give away any secret material to any known Communist or any espionage ring operating in Washington?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you handle any secret material in your various jobs?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult with counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may consult with counsel.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work later for the Department of Commerce in 1945?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances surrounding your employment with the Department of Commerce in 1945?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't understand the question. You mean a job description?

Mr. MORRIS. No, the circumstances surrounding your obtaining that employment.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did David Weintraub help you to get that job?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us a job description of your duties on your first assignment in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. When I first went to the Department of Commerce I worked on the Survey of Current Business and later became its editor.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us the duties of editor?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Preparation of the monthly reports of the magazine and selection and general editorial supervision of the articles which appeared in them.

Senator WELKER. While you were in the Department of Commerce, did you know a man by the name of William Remington?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever transfer any secret information, top secret information to William Remington while you were in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary at the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not exactly sure, sir. I think it started at \$4,600.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary when you were with the War Production Board?

Mr. FITZGERALD. About the same. They switched around. I am not exactly sure of these figures.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary when you were with the Federal Works Agency?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe then it was \$3,800.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary when you were with the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. FITZGERALD. \$3,200, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary with the National Research Project?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe my final salary was \$4,000.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show in connection with that last series of questions that Mr. Fitzgerald's last salary here was \$8,179.50. That is as a social-science analyst, and your salary in 1946 for the Department of Commerce was \$8,059.60. Does that square with your recollection?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It might be correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have a job description in Mr. Fitzgerald's application on his work with the Foreign Economic Administration?

Mr. MANDEL. The description here is as follows:

As Assistant to the Chief of the Office of Reconstruction and Development, Office of Economic Programs, was responsible for reports and review of trade programs, for import requirements and foreign financing of all European countries, with particular attention to reconstruction, import, and financing demand on the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you prepare any material directly for the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would presume that some of the material I prepared went directly to the Secretary of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fitzgerald, as a matter of fact, you had conferences with Henry Wallace, did you not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I had conferences with both Mr. Wallace and with Mr. Harriman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right, and you had conferences with Henry Wallace.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you had conferences with him in which he directed you to get certain information for him? Is that correct?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Usually such direction came through other superiors.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you were preparing material that was going to be used for publications and for speeches you knew Henry Wallace was going to use and wanted?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was preparing material that might be incorporated in such things.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the intension of the material, was it not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not know.

Mr. MORRIS. At the time you were supplying this information were you conferring about it and other material with people you knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Fitzgerald, did you hold the following positions in the Department of Commerce:

You were Assistant Chief of the Current Business Analysis Division in the Office of the Secretary of the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The title sounds approximate.

Mr. MORRIS. It reads here Assistant Chief, Current Business Analysis Division, P-6, \$8,059.60 per annum, Commerce, Office of the Secretary, Office of Program Planning, Washington, D. C.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That sounds right.

Mr. MORRIS. What kind of program planning did you do at that time, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I worked primarily with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and the Census Bureau.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the nature of the planning you did at that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I had nothing to do with the planning. My work was to report on the operations of the various bureaus to the Secretary, to the Secretary's office.

The CHAIRMAN. How old a man are you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am 41 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in the Government up until what, about 1947?

Mr. FITZGERALD. 1946 or 1947. I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you serve in the Armed Forces of this country?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you deferred because of physical reasons?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No, I was not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you evade service in the United States Armed Forces?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult with counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not evade service. I believe Mr. Nelson or some other superior at the War Production Board at one time requested my deferment.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you were so important to the services of Government that your superior requested that you be deferred? Is that your understanding of it?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is the presumption.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Fitzgerald, did you ever take an oath, a loyalty oath, before you accepted employment in the Federal Government?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Senator WELKER. I will ask you if it is not a fact, Mr. Fitzgerald, that on the 28th day of August 1944, in Washington, D. C., before a notary public, Hazel M. Murray, you did not swear on oath that you never did advocate or have you ever advocated or are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence? Did you so take an oath?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Senator WELKER. Directing your attention to the signature Edward Fitzgerald, preceding the signature of Hazel M. Murray, a notary

public, I will ask you if that is not your signature before a notary public.

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer the question on the same ground as before.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell the truth or lie when you took that oath?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Senator WELKER. Are you telling the truth to the committee?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

Senator WELKER. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am telling the truth.

Senator WELKER. You are telling the truth to the committee that if you admitted you swore to that oath in 1944 it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is the basis on which I am declining to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fitzgerald, you mentioned a while ago that you got your deferment by the intervention of Mr. Nelson. Do you mean Mr. Donald Nelson?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I said I presumed.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. What was his position at that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. He was head of the War Production Board at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have individual dealings with him? He personally was acquainted with your work, was he not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was at meetings he was. I don't believe we ever exchanged direct conversation.

Mr. MORRIS. You prepared material used by him?

Mr. FITZGERALD. By his office.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at the time that Mr. Nelson asked for your deferment from service, were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do you have any job descriptions in that application form that should go in this record now?

Mr. MANDEL. According to this application form, signed by Edward J. Fitzgerald, in his service from March 9, 1942, to July 22, 1944, at the War Production Board, the job description reads as follows:

As assistant to Chief of Industry Analysis Section and as Chief of Facilities Utilization Section, to plan and develop analyses of facilities utilization for war production and to prepare regular and special analyses for presentation to the monthly meeting of the War Production Board as Chief of the Facilities Utilization Section, to conduct a monthly survey of and to report on operations in the metal products industries.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Fitzgerald, did you hold the following positions: In September 19, 1947, did you become social-science analyst, P-7?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That sounds right.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that also for the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Could I hear the date again, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. Your last employment with the Government which commenced on September 19, 1947—

Mr. FITZGERALD. Was with the Department of Commerce.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It must have been shortly after that date.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have the position described before us, Assistant Chief of the Current Business Analysis Division commencing in July 1946?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Then were you economic analyst for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce commencing September 18, 1945?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That sounds right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that this witness commenced those 3 series of employments, the last 3 I read, at a time subsequent to the time that this memorandum which was first revealed by Mr. Nixon and part of which was put in our record, became part of the official Government records in Washington, and was known to the top security officers at that time.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Fitzgerald, as of this moment, are you a member of a secret espionage or sabotage ring against the interest of the Government of the United States?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Fitzgerald, do you believe that Communists should be employed in strategic positions in the Government as of this time?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your first nongovernmental employment after you left the Department of Commerce?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did some free-lance writing for a time, then was employed for a brief time as editor with McFadden Publications, the editor of True Confessions.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you hold onto that employment?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe I stayed there almost a year.

Mr. MORRIS. Since that time you have been doing principally free-lance work?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And also book review work and mostly for the publications you mentioned here today?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your doing that work have you made use of any Communist connections of yours to further your literary work?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances leading up to your relationship, say, with the New York Herald Tribune? What were the circumstances leading up to your becoming a book reviewer to that publication?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I asked to be allowed to do book reviews.

Mr. MORRIS. Whom did you ask?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mrs. Van Doren, editor of the Herald Tribune Book Review Section.

Mr. MORRIS. Had she any knowledge you had been identified in hearings in Washington as a member of an espionage ring?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not know.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not make disclosure to her? You did not reveal to her that fact, did you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did she inquire in any way about your Government employment?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Inquired of me?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No.

Senator WELKER. Did she ever ask you whether you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Not to my recollection.

Senator WELKER. You did not volunteer any information to her at all, did you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. About my capacity as a book reviewer, yes.

Senator WELKER. You did not give her any observation with respect to your political capacities and your beliefs along political lines, did you?

Mr. FITZGERALD. There was no occasion to, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fitzgerald, what were the circumstances leading up to your series of work for the Saturday Review of Literature?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The same.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the person involved there?

Mr. FITZGERALD. There were a number of people, Mr. Norman Cousins.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Norman Cousins?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he know about your having been identified in Washington as a member of a wartime espionage ring?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I discussed the matter with Norman Cousins.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you make any explanation to him?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you deny the allegations in the published testimony about your participation in the war espionage ring?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Mr. MORRIS. With what other persons have you dealt in the Saturday Review of Literature?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Now? Mr. Walters.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mr. Walters?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Walters, I don't know what his title is. He is the person who sent the list, he is the person in charge of distributing the books for review.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he know about your having been involved in this testimony?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't know.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Fitzgerald, when did you first have knowledge that you were identified as being a member of a secret Communist espionage and sabotage ring in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. When I read about it in the newspapers.

Senator WELKER. About what year was that, sir?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I believe that was 1947.

Senator WELKER. That was after you left the Government employment?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever protest publicly or privately to such an accusation?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever called up by any of your superiors before a Loyalty Board of any kind during your Government service?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. No one ever questioned you whether you were a security risk or not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. No, sir.

Senator WELKER. Now, just a moment. You said no one ever questioned you; how about the oath you took in 1944? That was a question, a direct question, was it not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. If that was the intent, that was the question.

Senator WELKER. Sir?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Under that interpretation I was so questioned.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell the truth then when you were questioned?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question again on the same basis as before.

Senator WELKER. Or did you lie under oath when you were called up and asked that question as to whether or not you advocated the overthrow of this Government by force or violence?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Why did you leave the Federal Government, Mr. Fitzgerald?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. I was asked by Mr. Harriman to take a leave of absence. I said I preferred under the circumstances to resign.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did Mr. Harriman ask you to take a leave of absence?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. After I had told Mr. Harriman that I had been called before a New York grand jury, he suggested that I take a leave of absence.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you called before the New York grand jury?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't remember the date now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the year?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I think it must have been just before my termination of employment in 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there was some doubt cast upon you as to whether or not you were a security risk, was there not? Mr. Harriman so stated, did he not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. May I consult?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. FITZGERALD. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Harriman did not question me before I left or express any opinion. He merely asked me in view of the circumstances to take a leave of absence.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell him why you were called before the New York grand jury?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did, sir.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell him your loyalty had been questioned before that in a judicial body?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did.

Senator WELKER. You did?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Then he suggested you take a leave of absence; is that correct?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. You countered that by saying you thought you should resign?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. Will you tell the committee the reason why you were not fired right then?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; I can't. I have no opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fitzgerald, how long a leave of absence did Mr. Harriman suggest you take?

Mr. FITZGERALD. As I recall, that was not mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not discussed at all?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not ask him how long you should take a leave of absence?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not state how long he thought you should take a leave of absence?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it to be an indefinite leave? Was that your understanding?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't know. I made no judgment. I just decided to resign.

The CHAIRMAN. You see, it is not reasonable to this committee that a man would give up a job paying better than \$8,000 a year without some knowledge of what it was all about. Therefore, I want to ask you again, did Mr. Harriman suggest that you take a 6 months' leave of absence until the heat was off or a year's leave of absence?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I don't remember any discussion of the length of time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask this witness about testimony, did you attend meetings in the home of John Abt, Central Park West, New York City?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

Mr. MORRIS. You will give us no testimony about anything that transpired at those meetings?

The CHAIRMAN. Who is John Abt?

Mr. MORRIS. John Abt is a man who had several positions in the Government. I think he is now an attorney who does some work for the Communist Party here in Washington.

Will you testify to anything that transpired at any of those meetings in Mr. John Abt's house?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside and be excused at this time. We will call the next witness.

(The following documents with reference to Mr. Fitzgerald's Government service were ordered printed in the record at this point by the chairman. The documents referred to follow:)

EXHIBIT No. 94

OCTOBER 16, 1936.

Memorandum to: Mr. Charles H. Balfour, Jr.

From: B. Paul Douglass.

Subject: Employment of Fitzgerald.

I have started the requisition for Mr. Fitzgerald's appointment and have asked that it be rushed.

We got Mr. Fitzgerald on the phone and he agrees to call on you informally Monday morning, and talk over the project. This does not constitute putting him to work, which cannot be done until the appointment is completed, but you can give him whatever instructions are necessary. He understands clearly that he will not be on the payroll until later.

As soon as I am notified that the Fitzgerald appointment is completed, I will have him come to Millville for field experience. If Dr. Lazarfeld is about when you get this memorandum, will you explain this proposal to him, and if he objects, let me know. I don't want to send the man into his field without his knowledge.

I will let you know about Mrs. Robertson's appointment as soon as I hear.

Mr. CHARLES H. BALFOUR, Jr.,

c/o Dr. Paul F. Lazarfeld, University of Newark, Newark, N. J.

EXHIBIT No. 95

WPA NATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT,
Philadelphia, Pa., October 16, 1936.

REQUISITION FOR PERSONNEL

To: Mr. I. Kaplan.

From: H. Paul Douglass.

Date Required: October 19, 1936.

For assignment to Dr. Douglass, Official Headquarters, Newark, N. J.

Personnel required: Interviewer.

Duties to be performed: To do semi-independent work under Mr. Balfour in canvassing Worthington Pump employees in and near Newark.

Previous experience desired: Knowledge of statistics, editing and coding work.

Minimum education desired: Ph. B. degree.

Other requirements: Age, 25; Sex, Male; Suggested Salary, \$1,800.
 Appointment: Name, Mr. Edward J. Fitzgerald; Address, 1205 East 34th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Grade, 6; Salary, \$1,800; Title, Sr. Interviewer.
 Authorizations: Division Head, H. Paul Douglass; Title, Principal Sociologist; Location, Philadelphia.
 Entrance on duty, October 19, 1936.

DAVID WEINTRAUB, *Director*.
 IRVING KAPLAN, *Associate Director*.

EXHIBIT No. 96

U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION REQUEST FOR RECOMMENDATION FOR EDWARD FITZGERALD, AS ASSOCIATE CONSULTANT IN CHILD LABOR

1. 2½ years.
2. No.
3. Employer.
4. a. Senior Interviewer at \$150.00 a month.
 b. Assistant Sociologist at \$200.00 a month.
 c. Research Sociologist at \$233.32 a month.
 d. Sociologist at \$266.66 a month.
 e. Senior Sociologist at \$300.00 a month.
5. Yes, at one time 36.
6. In charge of a field study gathering data on employment and unemployment conditions in watch, cork, linoleum, and silk factories in Lancaster, Pa. and machinery plant in Harrison, N. J.; in charge of analyzing data, and writing up reports.
7. High grade.
8. Large output.
9. Excellent judgment.
10. Moderately forceful and determined.
11. Excellent executive, responsible and efficient.
12. Ingenious, many good ideas.
13. Pleasant disposition, highly cooperative.
14. Very sturdy, condition excellent.
15. None.
16. Yes.
17. No.
18. Not to my knowledge.
19. -----.
20. Diligent, cooperative, loyal.
21. See answer to Question 6: also, edit and help organize literary studies; Free Lance writing of sociology and politics—editing of reports and studies on adult education.
22. Yes.
23. Mr. Fitzgerald had at one time charge of a staff of 36 enumerators. He has a marked ability to write up statistical and other data very effectively. He has an analytical mind and a sincere interest in social problems.

DAVID WEINTRAUB,
Director, National Research Project.

JUNE 1, 1939.

EXHIBIT No. 97

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
 Washington, D. C., June 12, 1939.

Mr. DAVID WEINTRAUB,
Director, National Research Project,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR DAVE: Lincoln Fairley has asked me on one or two occasions whether Howard or I have heard from you regarding the possibility of your releasing Mr. Fitzgerald. I am not trying to rush you in this matter but if you can give me any guesses as to where you come out on this matter I should like to pass them along to Mr. Fairley.

Sincerely yours,

A. ROSS ECKLER,
Assistant Director of Research.

EXHIBIT No. 98

FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY,
WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., October 2, 1939.

Mr. DAVID WEINTRAUB,
Director, National Research Project,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. WEINTRAUB: The enclosed note to Mr. Fitzgerald indicates that there is now a definite opening in my section, and that I am asking Mr. Fitzgerald whether he would be interested in being considered for it.

Meanwhile another of your national research project people, Mr. Zola Bronson, has been in to see me at Tom Tippet's suggestion. I should be glad to have any comments which you would care to make with regard to Bronson's analytical and technical qualifications for the sort of work which we do.

Sincerely yours,

LINCOLN FAIRLEY,
Chief of Special Inquiries.

EXHIBIT No. 99

OCTOBER 2, 1939.

Mr. EDWARD J. FITZGERALD,
National Research Project,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. FITZGERALD: The wheel here in Washington has turned again, so that we are able to consider filling the position about which I talked with you a couple of months ago. Will you please let me know whether you would still be interested in being considered for that position?

A couple weeks ago, before the situation had cleared as definitely as it has now, I talked briefly with Mr. Weintraub to sound him out with regard to your availability. He was kind enough to suggest that when we get to the point where there was a definite opportunity open, we get in touch with you. I am sending him a copy of this letter so that he will know what's going on.

When I talked with you earlier there appeared to be same possibility that your transfer from the national research project could be made with a slight increase in salary to \$3,800. I am now informed that any increase is out of the question.

Sincerely yours,

LINCOLN FAIRLEY,
Chief of Special Inquiries.

EXHIBIT No. 100

OCTOBER 3, 1939.

Dr. O. E. KIESSLING,
Chief Economist, Mineral Production and Economics Division,
Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR OSCAR: If there is still time, I should like to add Edward Fitzgerald's name to your list of candidates whom you are trying to clear with the Civil Service Commission. Enclosed you will please find Mr. Fitzgerald's personnel papers which are to be returned to us as soon as you are done with them.

You may also be interested to know that Fitzgerald is on several civil service lists: namely, consultant in child labor, at \$3,200 per annum, fairly high on the list; wage and hour inspector, at \$2,600 per annum.

Yours,

DAVID WEINTRAUB.

EXHIBIT No. 101

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF MINES,
Washington, October 11, 1939.

Mr. DAVID WEINTRAUB,
Director, National Research Project, WPA,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. WEINTRAUB: Thank you for your letter of October 3 and for Fitzgerald's personnel record. Your strong recommendation of the man increases my interest in him. Could you conveniently obtain the ratings he achieved in the two civil-service examinations mentioned?

After looking over Fitzgerald's record, I think it wise to withhold his name from my request at least for the time being. He represents perhaps our weakest case from the standpoint of civil-service regulations. My major effort is built around a few very strong cases which I hope will establish a principle. An established principle, of course, frequently has a variety of applications.

From your letter, I gather that you did not know I had already looked over Fitzgerald's file when in Philadelphia and decided I had better withhold any recommendation regarding him until I find out what I could do with persons whose work during the past 3 or 4 years has been more closely allied to mining. Nevertheless, I am interested in Fitzgerald and if we are successful with the Civil Service Commission I will want to discuss later what we might have to offer. Although obtaining certification of people without civil-service status is our major problem, we have had some success in securing some persons whose appointments did not tax the flexibility of civil-service rules too severely. Thus, Emil Erdreich, N. Yaworski, P. J. Wester, D. C. Athanas, and W. F. Whiting have been approved for civil-service positions on the census staff.

Yours very truly,

O. E. KIESSLING,
Chief Economist, Mineral Production and Economics Division.

EXHIBIT No. 102

JANUARY 10, 1940.

Mr. A. ROSS ECKLER,
Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

DEAR ROSS: With respect to your inquiry on Mr. Carson's material I would rather not let it get out of this office at present. When I see you in Washington we can talk about it some more.

As to personnel, I have talked to Messrs. Magdoff, Stone, and Fitzgerald, and they will no doubt write to you within a few days. I understand that they are trying to get statements from the Civil Service Commission concerning their relative standings on the various registers. Also, we have had quite a siege of the gripe and at least two of them have been out for a couple of days. As to other personnel ideas, I think you would be very much interested in a Miss Marvel Keller, who was with this project for several years until sometime last spring. She has since then been a regular civil-service employee of the Railroad Retirement Board and, from what I hear, she might be induced to transfer if the job promised to be interesting. I am writing to her asking her to get in touch with you and hope that you will find time to see her.

Yours,

DAVID WEINTRAUB.

EXHIBIT No. 103

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE
INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS,
Washington, D. C., June 8, 1940.

Mr. DAVID WEINTRAUB,
National Research Project, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. WEINTRAUB: I am writing you on behalf of the Special House Committee on Interstate Migration which was recently set up under House Resolution

63 with Congressman Tolan, of California, as chairman. We are in search of a capable statistician, experienced in research into problems of migration. It has been suggested to me that you will know of a number of excellent people to meet this specification, some of whom may be available for our employment.

In a conversation which I had over the phone with Mr. Irving Kaplan, of the Federal Works Agency, he suggested that we would be very fortunate if we could secure the services of Mr. Edward Fitzgerald who is now a member of your staff. From sources other than Mr. Kaplan, we get the impression that you cannot spare Mr. Fitzgerald, but I am mentioning his name to indicate the type of person we would especially like to find. The mandate of this committee runs only until January 1941, and anyone whom we secure will not be paid directly by this committee, but must meet the specifications of whichever department has undertaken to lend his services to the committee. We are authorized to borrow personnel from other departments and when they are unable to supply it, they will in several instances provide payroll upon which we may place our own candidates.

For your information I should perhaps add that the committee proposes to consider both urban and rural migration so that a statistician like Mr. Fitzgerald, who has concerned himself with both interurban and rural-urban movement, would be particularly useful to us.

We shall appreciate any suggestions you may be able to offer of personnel to fill this need.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT K. LAMB, *Chief Investigator.*

EXHIBIT No. 104

JUNE 12, 1940.

Mr. ROBERT K. LAMB,

Chief Investigator, House of Representatives, Special Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, Washington, D. C.

DEAR Mr. LAMB: Your impression that we cannot spare Mr. Fitzgerald at this time is quite correct. Mr. Fitzgerald is now engaged in cooperating with me in the preparation of important sections of the report which will summarize this project's work of the last 4 years. Both he and I will be on the lookout for a statistician who might meet your requirements.

Although you have probably already looked around in Washington should you have missed talking to Mr. John Webb, of the Work Projects Administration, Mr. Telles, of the Labor Department, Messrs. Taebur and Woofter, of the Department of Agriculture, we would recommend that you get in touch with them.

Very truly yours,

DAVID WEINTRAUB.

EXHIBIT No. 105

REQUISITION FOR WORKERS

SEPTEMBER 23, 1940.

From: WPA National Research Project at 1015 Chestnut Street.

To: Work Projects Administration at 232 North 11th Street.

Please supply workers as indicated for project No. 22877 located in Philadelphia.

Description of project: National Research Project.

Occupation: Senior Economist; Wage Class, Gr. 5; Number of Workers, 1; Sex, M.; Special Requirements of Conditions, Rate per Fiscal Mo., \$308.00; Date to Report, 9/26/40; Hours to Report, 8:30 a. m.; Place to Report, 1015 Chestnut St.

Request change in assignment status of Mr. Edward J. Fitzgerald, Carl Mackley Apts., "M" and Bristol Sts., Philadelphia, Pa., Identification No. 4451-19183, now working as Sr. Sociologist at \$277.20 per fiscal month, on this project. Mr. Fitzgerald is needed and qualified on this project as Senior Economist, Grade 5, at \$308.00 per fiscal month.

This reclassification is requested in order to permit reorganization of the work, necessitated by the resignation of the Assistant to the Director, Edmund J. Stone, and the Principal Statistician, Harry Magdoff. Although Mr. Fitzger-

ald's title is now Sr. Sociologist, he has for more than a year been doing work which has almost entirely the character of economic analysis. He is at present in charge of the preparation of important sections of the final report, and the resignations of Mr. Stone and Mr. Magdoff have made it necessary to shift major aspects of their work to Mr. Fitzgerald.

MARY MACM. MEANS,
Senior Administrative Assistant.

EXHIBIT No. 106

JANUARY 29, 1941.

U. S. C. S. FORM 3328, IN RE EDWARD J. FITZGERALD

State: New York.

Position: Public Employment Office Specialist No. U140.

1. Over 4 years.
2. No.
3. Employer.
4. Sr. Economist at \$333.33 per month.
5. Yes, as many as 36.
6. Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data bearing on the effects of industrial change on labor markets.
7. 1—High grade.
8. 2—Good, or better than average.
9. 1—Excellent judgment.
10. 2—Moderately forceful and determined.
11. 2—Good, capable of assuming responsibility.
12. 1—Ingenious, many good ideas.
13. 1—Pleasant disposition, highly cooperative.
14. 1—Very sturdy, condition excellent.
15. None.
16. Yes.
17. Not to my knowledge.
18. No.
19. None.
20. Diligent, cooperative, straightforward, loyal.
21. Mr. Fitzgerald's responsibilities have progressed from those of a field agent engaged in making contacts with manufacturing concerns for the purpose of getting their voluntary consent to an examination of their pay roll records and interviewing individual workers to obtain their work histories, in accordance with a prepared schedule, to those of a supervisor responsible for tabulation of the statistical data collected, analyzing them and preparing final reports. He is the sole author of "Selective Factors in an Expanding Labor Market: Lancaster, Pa." and co-author of "Farm-City Migration and Industry's Labor Reserve" and "Employment and Unemployment in a Depressed Labor Market: Brazil, Ind." At present he is preparing an important section of the final report on this Project's activities.
22. Yes.
23. (disloyalty to govt.) no.
24. Mr. Fitzgerald has an analytical mind and a sincere interest in social problems; he has a marked ability to write up statistical and other data very effectively.

DAVID WEINTRAUB,
Director, WPA National Research Project.

EXHIBIT No. 107

FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY,
Washington.

RECORD FOR EDWARD J. FITZGERALD

1. How long have you known this person? 5 years. How well and in what connection?

2. If this person has even been employed by you or under your supervision, please state the various duties performed and the quality of his work. Mr. Fitzgerald's responsibilities have progressed from those of a field agent engaged in making contacts with manufacturing concerns for the purpose of getting their voluntary consent to an examination of their pay roll records and interviewing individual workers to obtain their work histories, in accordance with a prepared schedule, to those of a supervisor responsible for tabulation of the statistical data collected, analyzing them and preparing final reports. He is the sole author of "Selective Factors in an Expanding Labor Market, Lancaster, Pa." and co-author of "Farm-City Migration and Industry's Labor Reserve" and "Employment and Unemployment in a Depressed Labor Market: Brazil, Ind." He prepared an important section of the final report on this Project's activities.
3. Would you reemploy this person? Yes.
4. For what type of work is this person particularly qualified? See answer to 10.
5. Is this person efficient and industrious? Yes.
6. Is this person temperate in habits? Yes.
7. Is this person of good moral character? Yes.
8. Does this person get along well with those who supervise his work and whose work he supervises? Highly cooperative.
9. Please give us the benefit of your impression of this person's personality and integrity. Pleasing personality; conscientious worker, excellent judgment, very ingenious, legal.
10. General comments or remarks not covered above will be appreciated.

Mr. Fitzgerald has an analytical mind and a sincere interest in social problems; he has a marked ability to write up statistical and other data very effectively.

DAVID WEINTRAUB,
Director of NRP.

Date 11-19-41.

EXHIBIT No. 108

FEBRUARY 14, 1942.

To: Robert R. Nathan.

From: Harry Magdoff.

Subject: Appointment of Edward J. Fitzgerald.

I suggest, for your approval, the appointment of Edward J. Fitzgerald as a Senior Economist, grade P-5, to work on plant utilization in the Office of Progress Reports.

Mr. Fitzgerald's assignment would be to analyze the summary reports on plant utilization, prepare memoranda and reports on the progress of plant utilization, follow up the results on plants which will be investigated by the branches and propose necessary types of statistical analysis to be made in the plant utilization section in the Statistics Division.

I believe Mr. Fitzgerald is well qualified for this position. He has a good background of economic research, apparently writes effectively, and has, during his experience with the Federal Works Agency, dealt with statistical controls for progress reporting on construction.

EXHIBIT No. 109

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,
Washington, D. C., February 21, 1942.

Mr. A. J. SARRE,

*Director of Personnel, Federal Works Agency,
North Interior Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The War Production Board is considering the appointment of Mr. E. J. Fitzgerald as Sr. Prod. Progress Analyst, P-5, \$4,600 per annum, who is now employed as Social Economist, P-4, \$3,800 per annum, in the Federal Works Agency.

Please advise whether you would interpose any objection to a release if selected. It is requested that your reply be furnished in duplicate, in order that a copy may be retained in our files. If you prefer, your desires in this matter

may be indicated in the space provided below with the return of two copies of this letter to us. Your prompt attention to this request will be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

MAC BAIN SMITH,
Placement Officer
(for the Chief of Placement).

This agency will not interpose objection to the release of the above named employee for transfer to the War Production Board.

(If release is granted, it is requested that the following information be furnished regarding this employee's present status:)

Designation: Social Economist.
Service, Grade and Salary: P-4, \$3,800.
Type of appointment: Probational.
Date of appointment: 6-17-41.

A. J. SARRÉ,
Director of Personnel, Federal Works Agency.

EXHIBIT No. 110

Standard Form No. 47
Approved by the Bureau
of the Budget
May 15, 1941

PERSONNEL AFFIDAVIT

W. P. B. WASHINGTON, D.C.
(Department or agency) (Bureau or division) (Place of employment)
Name EDWARD J. FITZGERALD.
(Given name, initial or initials, if any, and last name. Print or type)

Section 9A of Public 252—76th Congress, approved August 2, 1939, otherwise known as the "Hatch Act," provides:

"(1) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation, or any part thereof, is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by any Act of Congress, to have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States.

"(2) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by any Act of Congress for such position or office shall be used to pay the compensation of such person;"

It is provided in various appropriation acts that no part of the funds so appropriated shall be used to pay the salary or wages of any person who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, and that an affidavit shall be considered *prima facie* evidence that the person making the affidavit does not advocate, and is not a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence. Such acts provide further that any person who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence and accepts employment, the salary or wages for which are paid from any such appropriation, shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both, and that the above penalty shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law.

I, EDWARD J. FITZGERALD, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have read and understand the foregoing; that I do not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; that I am not a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that during such time as I am an employee of the Federal Government, I will not advocate nor become a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

Edward J. Fitzgerald
(Signature of employee)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of March A. D., 1942
at Washington D.C.
(City or place) (State)

NOTARY PUBLIC, D.C.
My Commission Expires Jan. 19, 1947.

David L. Lillard
Notary Public

[SEAL]

EXHIBIT No. 111

3-5-42.

(x) Indefinite—for Duration of Emergency

Fitzgerald, Edward J.

War Production Board, Office of Progress Reports, Executive Office of the Chairman, Senior Production Progress Analyst.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

Under the general administrative and technical direction of the Head Production Progress Analyst who has responsibility for determining and reporting on the progress being made toward maximum utilization of industrial facilities in the War production program, serves as one of two principal assistants and carries out independently large and important portions of the program:

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

(1) Participates with the Head Progress Analyst and statisticians of the Division of Statistics in the developing of plans and methods for determining standards of plant utilization and for obtaining uniform reports from industry on actual utilization, involving the planning of studies to determine such problems as what constitutes a third shift, whether to include operators and maintenance crews or just machine operators, whether reports received from industry should be consolidated reports or separate reports from cutters, assemblers, stampers, etc., and whether a higher percentage of utilization is obtained from three eight-hour shifts or two ten-hour shifts or from a five, six, or seven day week, measuring limitations in each case;

(2) Analyzes production reports prepared by the Division of Statistics showing percentages of plant utilization achieved by different manufacturers of aircraft, tanks, ordnance, etc., to determine which plants are not making sufficient progress toward maximum utilization and reports such information in concise form for submittal to the Director of the War Production Board;

(3) Conducts intensive studies on assigned problems to discover why such lags occur: determines both immediate and indirect or remote causes of delays, involving analyses of reports on field investigations conducted by operating branches, the evaluation of statements presented by industrial management and labor representatives, the evaluation of the adequacy of plans and methods being followed in the industrial branches and operating divisions of the War Production Board as they effect plant utilization, and the efficiency of execution of such plans; examinations into the circumstances surrounding uneconomical use of facilities resulting from material-shortages, program failures in related fields, failure to carry standardization of motors and other parts to its most practicable limitations, etc.;

(4) Prepares concise reports for submittal through the Head Production Progress Analyst to the Chairman of the War Production Board pointing sharply to specific cases of uneconomical use of facilities; prepares summary reports at regular intervals commenting on progress achieved; and prepares comprehensive reports on studies conducted of plants or groups of plants failing to make consistent progress toward maximum utilization of facilities, presenting conclusive evidence of specific causes of failure for executive action.

EXHIBIT No. 112

NOTICE OF PERSONNEL ACTION IN LIEU OF JOURNAL,

January 16, 1943.

U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,

Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: By reason of a change in organization the following positions and the incumbents thereof are transferred without change in duties to the Office of Production Vice Chairman effective January 3, 1943.

EXHIBIT No. 112—Continued

Name	Title, grade, and salary	P. C. D. No.	From—
Alford, Lillian E.....	Clerk-Steno., CA-4—\$1,800.	FC AF-4-2418. App: 7/10/42.	Div. of Statistics, Off. Progress Reports.
*Barnard, Henry H.....	Prin. Research Analyst, CAF-13—\$5,600.	CAF-13-224. App: 6/10/42.	Exec. Off. Chairman, Off. Progress Reports.
*Bessie V. Lewis.....	Chief Production Progress Analyst, P-8—\$8,000.	P-8-120. App: 2/20/42.	Statistics Div. Off. Progress Reports.
Beardsley, Ethel M.....	Clerk-Steno., CAF-4—\$1,800.	CAF-4-2981. App: 11/9/42.	Statistics Div., Off. of Director, Off. Progress Reports.
*Butt, Florence.....	Junior Economist, P-1—\$2,000.	P-1-333. App: 5/21/42.	Exec. Off. of Chairman, Off. Progress Reports.
*Fitzgerald, Edward J.....	Prin. Economist, P-6—\$5,600.	P-6-302. App: 10/14/42.	Off. of Dep. Chairman on Program Progress, Off. Progress Reports.
*Fooner, Michael.....	Economist, P-4—\$3,800.	P-4-272. App: 5/23/42.	Exec. Off. of Chairman, Off. Progress Reports.
*Friedman, Jessie J.....	Economist, P-4—\$3,800.	P-4-120. App: 5/6/42.	Statistics Division, Off. Progress Reports.
Funkhouser, Richard L.....	Prin. Prod. Prog. Analyst, P-6—\$5,600.	P-6-125. App: 3/7/42.	Statistics Division, Off. Progress Reports.
*Gorlitz, Samuel J.....	Assoc. Economist, P-3—\$3,200.	P-3-293. App: 10/15/42.	Off. of Dep. Chairman on Program Progress, Off. Progress Reports.
*Graham, Eva J.....	Clerk-Steno., CAF-4—\$1,800.	CAF-4-3114. App: 12/11/42.	Statistics Division, Off. of Director, Off. Progress Reports.
*Taylor, Glen S.....	Head Production Progress Analyst, P-7—\$6,500.	P-7-75. App: 2/25/42.	Statistics Division, Off. Progress Reports.
Wagenknecht, Kurt P.....	Asso. Ind. Analyst, CAF-9—\$3,200.	CAF-9-492. App: 3/21/42.	Statistics Division, Off. Progress Reports.
*Wallace, Kathleen A.....	Asst. Graphic Analyst, CAF-7—\$2,600.	CAF-7-458. App: 4/30/42.	Exec. Off. of Chairman, Off. Progress Reports.
West, John R.....	Asso. Economist (Ord. Prod.), P-3—\$3,200.	P-3-291. App: 6/2/42.	Statistics Division, Off. Progress Reports.
*West, Miriam E.....	Prin. Prod. Prog. Analyst, P-6—\$5,600.	P-6-117. App: 2/28/42.	Statistics Division, Off. Progress Reports.
*Winston, Clement.....	Prin. Ind. Economist, P-6—\$5,600.	P-6-141. App: 3/24/42.	Statistics Division, Off. of Director, Off. Progress Reports.
Woods, Burnice P.....	Asst. Clerk-Steno., CAF-3—\$1,620.	CAF-3-2739. App: 9/19/42.	Off. of Dep. Chairman on Program Progress, Off. Progress Reports.

*Positions limited to incumbency.

CARLTON HAYWARD,
Director of Personnel.

EXHIBIT No. 113

Standard Form No. 51
Appr. Jan. 5, 1942
U. S. C. Dept. Cir. No. 242

REPORT OF REGULAR (X) ; INTERIM
PROBATIONARY—1ST () 2d ()
EFFICIENCY RATING

Classification Symbols		
(Service)	(Grade)	(Class)

As of 3-31-43 based on performance during period from 4-1-42 to 3-31-43

Pittgerald, Edward J. Prin. Econ. P-6, 5600 1
(Name of employee) (Title of position) (Bureau)

Production Vice Chairman Production Vice Chairman's Office
(Division) (Section) (Subsection or unit) (Field office)

ON LINES BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE		CHECK ONE:
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> if adequate	1. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.	Administrative, _____
<input type="checkbox"/> if weak	2. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position.	supervisory, or _____
<input type="checkbox"/> if outstanding	a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italics</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions.	planning <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning employees on all elements pertinent to the position whether in <i>italics</i> or not.	All others _____ <input type="checkbox"/>
	3. Before rating, become thoroughly familiar with instructions in the rating manual.	

- (1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.
..... (2) Mechanical skill.
..... (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.
..... (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).
..... (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.
..... (6) Attention to pertinent detail.
..... (7) Accuracy of operations.
..... (8) Accuracy of final results.
..... (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.
..... (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.
..... (11) Industry.
..... (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.
..... (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records? (Yes or no) _____)
..... (14) Ability to organize his work.
..... (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.
..... (16) Cooperativeness.
..... (17) Initiative.
..... (18) Resourcefulness.
..... (19) Dependability.
..... (20) Physical fitness for the work.

- (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
..... (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
..... (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures.
..... (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
..... (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
..... (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
..... (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.
..... (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
..... (29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
..... (30) Ability to make decisions.
..... (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

- (A) _____
..... (B) _____
..... (C) _____

STANDARD		Adjective rating		Numerical rating	
Deviations must be explained on reverse side of this form					
All underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus.....	Adjective rating Excellent.....	Numerical rating 1	Rating official	<u>E</u>	<u>1</u>
A majority of underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus.....	Very good.....	2 or 8	Reviewing official	<u>Ex</u>	<u>1</u>
All underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks fully compensated by plus marks, or a majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks on underlined elements overcompensated by plus marks on underlined elements.....	Good.....	4, 5, or 6			
A majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks not fully compensated by plus marks.....	Fair.....	7 or 8			
A majority of underlined elements marked minus.....	Unsatisfactory.....	9			

On the whole, do you consider the conduct of this employee to be satisfactory? Yes (See back of form)
(Yes or no)

Rated by J. Lewis Haxie Chief Production Analyst 4/6/43
(Signature of rating official) (Title) (Date)

Reviewed by W. Keith Haxie Assoc. Director 4/23/43
(Signature of reviewing official) (Title) (Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee MAY 4 1943 Report to employee EXCELLENT
(Date) (Adjective rating) (Numerical rating)

EXHIBIT No. 114

LOCAL BOARD No. 2, MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
Jessup Blair House, Silver Spring, Md., November 11, 1943.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

DEAR SIR: The case of John Edward Fitzgerald Order No. 100 has been reopened.

Any evidence you wish the local board to consider should be submitted to it in writing within 10 days, after which time the board intends to make a new determination of the registrant's classification.

STEPHEN JAMES, *Member of the Local Board.*

EXHIBIT No. 115

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,
February 21, 1944.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Miss Elsie Johnson.

From: Edward J. Fitzgerald.

Subject: Proposed transfer to Foreign Economic Administration.

In confirmation of my discussion with Mrs. Bloomberg, I had advised FEA some weeks ago that I was not interested in the position they were considering me for and I had understood they were canceling the request for my transfer.

EXHIBIT No. 116

February 21, 1944.

To: Mr. J. A. Egan, Civil Service Commission.

From: James M. Woodard, Jr., for the Director of Personnel.

Subject: Release of Edward J. Fitzgerald.

The War Production Board objects to the release of Mr. Edward J. Fitzgerald to transfer to the Foreign Economic Administration, OEWA, as economic analyst, P-7, \$6,500. Mr. Fitzgerald is currently employed with the War Production Board, Office of Productive Vice Chairman, as a principal economist, P-6, \$5,600 and is needed in his present position.

Mr. Fitzgerald has also informed the FEA that he wished the proposed transfer canceled and I am attaching copy of his memorandum to this office to this effect.

EXHIBIT No. 117

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,
 DIVISION OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT,
February 22, 1944.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM, LOCAL BOARD No. 38,
Philadelphia County, Philadelphia, Pa.

War Production Board Agency Committee on deferment of employees approved request for deferment of Edward J. Fitzgerald, Order No. 1742, case submitted to War Manpower Commission February 18 for prior approval. Would appreciate stay of further action pending their decision.

CARLTON HAYWARD,
Director of Personnel, Chairman, Agency Committee.

I hereby certify that this telegram is sent on official United States Government business.

EXHIBIT No. 118

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,
March 15, 1944.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Carlton Hayward, Director of Personnel.
From: Stacy May, Director, Bureau of Planning and Statistics.
Subject: Deferment of Edward J. Fitzgerald.

I am resubmitting a request for deferment of Edward J. Fitzgerald, Chief of the Facilities Utilization Section in the Bureau of Planning and Statistics.

I wish to emphasize the importance of the work for which Mr. Fitzgerald is responsible and the difficulty there would be in finding a replacement with his peculiar and specific qualifications. The problems of military cutbacks and the programing of civilian production require detailed analyses of the current status of plants and industries operating in the munition program. His work therefore contributes substantially to what is emerging as one of our most important functions. He has been with this work since its inception and is thoroughly familiar with its ramifications as well as with the needs of the various organizational units in the war agencies. These qualifications could not be found in a replacement in time for the meeting of needs which are already urgent.

EXHIBIT No. 119

MARCH 16, 1944.

Mr. EDGAR F. PURYEAR,
Chairman, Review Committee, War Manpower Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed memorandum has been submitted by the Bureau of Planning and Statistics in connection with our request for deferment for Edward J. Fitzgerald. This case was disapproved by your committee on March 1.

In view of this substantive evidence, we shall appreciate your reconsideration of our request for a 90-day deferment for this employee. In the event case is approved, Government authorized 42 and supplement will be forwarded for your stamp of approval.

Very truly yours,

CARLTON HAYWARD,
Director of Personnel,
Chairman, Agency Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 120

APRIL 8, 1944.

R. W. Turnley, 405 Standard Oil Bldg.
Carlton Hayward.
Edward J. Fitzgerald.

This is to advise that our appeal on Edward J. Fitzgerald has been denied by the War Manpower Commission.


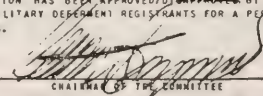
EXHIBIT No. 121

FORM GA-35 9-22-41 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAR PRODUCTION BOARD R	EMPLOYEE'S FIRST NAME Edward		MIDDLE NAME OR INITIAL J.		LAST NAME Fitzgerald	
	S.S. ORDER NO. 1742		DATE OF BIRTH 11/19/11		AGE (Last birthday) 32	
	SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARD NO. 38		SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARD LOCATION			
	CITY Philadelphia		COUNTY Philadelphia	STATE Pennsylvania		
RECOMMENDATION THAT DEFERMENT FROM MILITARY SERVICE BE REQUESTED						
TITLE OF PRESENT POSITION Principal Economist						
OFFICE OR BUREAU Planning and Statistics		DIVISION Progress		BRANCH Industry Analysis		
TO: COMMITTEE ON MILITARY DEFERMENT						
A request for the deferment for a period not to exceed <u>6</u> months of the above-described employee of the War Production Board is hereby recommended and the following statements are advanced in support of the recommendation.						
THE EMPLOYEE'S DUTIES ARE						
<p>He is responsible for basic information, analyses, and reports on industry operations in the key metal products industries. Both basic policy on reconversion and detailed programming of war and civilian production in the period immediately ahead must be worked out in terms of the current status of industry operations; these analyses show what the impact of munitions out-backs in various areas will be, which plants are tied up in urgent war production and which could be shifted, and how adjustments should be made to provide maximum use of productive resources. The WPB's periodic survey of some 12,000 manufacturing concerns (Form WPB-732) is under his direction, involving a staff of 20 professional and clerical persons in the Bureau of Planning and Statistics and 135 persons assigned by the Bureau of the Census. On the basis of this survey and other sources, regular and special reports are prepared to inform top officials of current developments and to recommend policies or procedures for handling problems in this area.</p> <p>The material assembled and analyzed under Mr. Fitzgerald's direction constitutes the only source of current information available in the WPB on the production of components for military and other end products, on the production of civilian metal products, and on individual plants in the war programs. They are also the only source of information on the labor situation in these industries. This WPB function is now reaching its most important phase and requires direction by a person thoroughly familiar with the needs of various organizational units in the War Agencies</p>						
DATE ENTERED ON PRESENT POSITION March 4, 1942		OFFICIAL STATION Washington, D. C.			PRESENT ANNUAL SALARY (Do not include overtime pay) \$5600	
EMPLOYMENT RECORD		TOTAL EXPERIENCE 11 YEARS 6 MONTHS		TOTAL EXPERIENCE RELATED TO PRESENT POSITION 8 YEARS - MONTHS		
EMPLOYER (List in reverse order)	LOCATION	DATES EMPLOYED FROM TO		TITLE OF POSITION	TOTAL ANNUAL COMPENSATION	
War Production Board	Washington, D. C.	3/1942 date		Chief, Facil Utiliza- tion Section	4600-5600	
Federal Works Agency	Washington, D. C.	6/1941 3/1942		Social Economist	3800	
Federal Security Agency	Washington, D. C.	2/1941 6/1941		Associate Economist	3200	
National Research Proj.	Philadelphia, Pa.	10/1936 2/1941		Economist	1800-4000	
Eugenics Survey of Vt.	Burlington, Vt.	1/1936 8/1938		Research Asst. & Editor	1800	
Self-employed	Brooklyn, N. Y.	10/1935 12/1935		Article Writing & Tech.	About 1500	
EDUCATIONAL TRAINING RELATED TO PRESENT POSITION (College graduates omit training below college level)						
SCHOOL, COLLEGE, OR UNIVERSITY (Including technical)	LOCATION	YEARS ATTENDED	GRADUATED	DEGREE OR DIPLOMA	MAJOR OR SPECIAL TRAINING	
Univ. of Vermont	Burlington, Vt.	4	1942	PH. B.	Social Science	
Univ. of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pa.	(Graduate Work)		6 credits	Economics	
HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE TO SECURE AND TRAIN A REPLACEMENT FOR THIS EMPLOYEE? 6 months if a replacement can be found						

Pre-Pearl Harbor Father, April 9, 1939. - (Daughter)

B-36001-g-1-bb-vp

EXHIBIT No. 121—Continued

HISTORY OF SELECTIVE SERVICE CLASSIFICATION							
CLASS	DATE	BY (Local Board, Board of Appeals, Presidential Appeal)	IF 11-A OR 11-B STATE PERIOD	CLASS	DATE	BY (Local Board, Board of Appeals, Presidential Appeal)	IF 11-A OR 11-B STATE PERIOD
3A	6/11/41	Local Board					
1A	2/19/44	Local Board					
DATE SET FOR PHYSICAL EXAMINATION		DATE SET FOR INDUCTION		IS THE POSITION OF THIS EMPLOYEE A KEY POSITION APPROVED BY THE REVIEW COMMITTEE?		IT WAS APPROVED ON	
				<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO			
ARE THERE UNUSUAL OR SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH MAKE DEFERMENT NECESSARY EVEN THOUGH THE REGISTRANT'S JOB IS NOT AN APPROVED KEY POSITION? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO IF SO, WHAT ARE SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES? Requirements of position and necessity for specialized experience would make replacement extremely difficult, if not impossible. This section faces the loss of two unit chiefs and one other key professional employee; we cannot readily obtain replacements for these people, and the function will suffer badly if we do not have someone at the top capable of carrying through a training program.							
STATE SPECIFICALLY THE DEFINITE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE REGISTRANT FOR THIS JOB Eight years of experience in analyzing and evaluating economic and industrial information, with wide knowledge of industry location and operations, including detail as to specific plants and processes. In addition, the registrant participated in the initial development of the regular survey he now conducts and has been in charge of it since its inception; he is thoroughly familiar with the needs of other Divisions and War Agencies and has established necessary working relations. His experience on the job indicates not only technical efficiency but also sound judgment, which is essential in this position.							
EXPLAIN SPECIFICALLY THE RELATION OF THIS JOB TO THE WAR EFFORT OR TO NECESSARY SUPPORTING ACTIVITIES The work performed by the registrant is basic to the establishment of administrative policy governing the war production program. Decisions as to military outbacks and the programming of new war or civilian production in outback capacity can be accomplished only in terms of the current status of plant operations in the munitions industries.							
EXPLAIN SPECIFICALLY HOW LOSS OF REGISTRANT'S CIVILIAN SERVICES WOULD IMPAIR SUCH EFFORT OR ACTIVITIES. Registrant would be extremely difficult to replace. Even a replacement with the general experience required would not have the registrant's detailed specific background which is required to execute the functions effectively.							
HOW MANY EMPLOYEES DO THE SAME OR SIMILAR WORK AS THIS REGISTRANT?		None		MALES - 18-37, 38-44		OVER 44 FEMALES	
DESCRIBE SPECIFIC EFFORTS TO SECURE OR TRAIN A REPLACEMENT (stating difficulties, if any) No specific efforts have been made to secure a replacement since the registrant's induction was not considered imminent.							
IS A REPLACEMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAM IN OPERATION? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO CONTEMPLATED? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO EXPLAIN Efforts will be made to find and train a replacement; there is no one immediately available to take over these diverse functions combining technical, analytical and reporting qualifications.							
RECOMMENDED BY  DATE _____ RECOMMENDING OFFICER				THIS RECOMMENDATION HAS BEEN APPROVED/REAPPROVED BY THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY DEFERMENT REGISTRANTS FOR A PERIOD OF 6 MONTHS. 6-1-44  DATE _____ CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE			

2-94051-pg-bu-final

EXHIBIT No. 122

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,
Washington, D. C., February 18, 1944.

Re Edward J. Fitzgerald, Order No. 1742.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM, LOCAL BOARD No. 38,
Philadelphia County, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the provisions of Executive Order 9309, the War Production Board Agency Committee on Deferment of Employees, requests the deferment of Edward J. Fitzgerald, Order No. 1742, for a period of 90 days.

Although the position held by Mr. Fitzgerald has not been designated as a key position, it was presented to and approved by the Review Committee of the

War Manpower Commission under section IV-IB of Executive Order 9309. Registrant is also a pre-Pearl Harbor father with one child.

Form 42 and supplement have been completed and are enclosed.

Your favorable consideration and early advice will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

CARLTON HAYWARD,
Director of Personnel,
Chairman, Agency Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 123

BUDGET BUREAU No. 11-R-93
Approval Expires 8-31-44

GOVERNMENT REQUEST
WAR PRODUCTION BOARD
[Signature]
CHAIRMAN, AGENCY COMMITTEE
(OFFICIAL STAMP OF COMMITTEE)

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
**SUPPLEMENT TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
REQUEST FOR OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION**

(This form shall be used only as a Supplement to DSS Form 42 in all Federal government requests for occupational classification except for employees on replacement schedules. Use additional sheets if necessary to complete any answer.)

1. Name of registrant Edward J. Fitzgerald
(First) (Middle Initial) (Last)

2. S. S. Order No. 1742 Date of birth November 19 1911 Age 32
(Month) (Day) (Year)

3. Local board 38 Philadelphia Philadelphia Pennsylvania
(Number) (City) (County) (State)

4. Title of present job Principal Economist in the ☐ Legislative ☒ Executive ☐ Judicial branch of the Federal Government.

5. Department or agency War Production Board Bureau or Division Planning and Statistics

6. Description of work this registrant does Is in complete charge of the War Production Board's periodic survey of some 12,000 manufacturing concerns, supervising the work of 20 professional and clerical persons in the Bureau of Planning and Statistics and of a staff of 135 persons assigned by the Bureau of the Census, and is responsible for analyzing and regularly reporting on the production and employment situation in key industries.

7. Date entered present job March 2, 1942 Station Washington, D. C. Present annual salary, \$ 5600

8. Employment record: Total experience 10 years 4 months. Related to present job 8 years 0 months.

Employer (List in inverse order)	Location	Dates Employed		Title of Position	Total Annual Compensation
		From—	To—		
War Production Board	Washington, D. C.	3-1942	Date	Prin. Economist	\$5600
Federal Works Agency	Washington, D. C.	6-1941	3-1942	Social Economist	\$3800
Federal Security Agency	Washington, D. C.	2-1941	6-1941	Asso. Economist	\$3200
National Research Proj.	Phila., Pa.	10-1936	2-1941	Economist	\$1800-4000
Eugenics Survey of Vt.	Burlington, Vt.	1-1936	8-1936	Res. Editor & Asst.	\$1800
Self-employed	Brooklyn, N.Y.	10-1933	12-1935	Article Writing	\$1500

School, College, or University (Including technical)	Location	Year Attended		Degree or Diploma	Major or Special Training
		From—	To—		
Univ. of Vermont	Burlington, Vt.	9-28	6-32	Ph. E.	Social Science
Univ. of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pa.	1938-39			Economics

10. How long will it take to secure and train a replacement for this registrant? Ninety days or longer *125*

11. History of Selective Service Classification:

Class	Date	By ¹	If II-A or II-B State Period	Class	Date	By ¹	If II-A or II-B State Period	Class	Date	By ¹	If II-A or II-B State Period
III-A	6-11-41	L. B.									

¹ L. B.—Local Board; B. A.—Board of Appeal; Pres.—Presidential Appeal.

EXHIBIT No. 123—Continued

12. Is the job of this registrant a key position approved by the Review Committee? No It was approved on _____ (Date)
13. *Are there unusual or special circumstances which make deferment necessary even though the registrant's job is not an approved key position? Yes If so, what are such circumstances? Requirements of position and necessity for specialized experience would make replacement extremely difficult, if not impossible. The survey he now conducts is also entering a crucial phase and requires direction by a person thoroughly familiar with the information that has been gathered, experienced in its analysis, and acquainted with the needs of various organization units in the War agencies, all of this Mr. Fitzgerald possesses.
14. State specifically the definite qualifications of the registrant for this job Eight years of experience in Economic Research, with detailed experience in analyzing and evaluating plant operation and industrial information. In addition Mr. Fitzgerald has participated in the initial development of the regular survey he now conducts and has been in charge of it since its inception.
15. Explain specifically the relation of this job to the war effort or to necessary supporting activities The work performed by the registrant is basic to the establishment of administrative policy governing the war production program.
16. Explain specifically how loss of registrant's civilian services would impair such effort or activities His loss at this particular time would seriously impair the current survey he is now working upon since it is entering a crucial phase.
17. How many employees do the same or similar work as this registrant? Males: 18-37 _____; 38-44 _____; Over 44 _____; Females _____ None
18. Describe specific efforts to secure or train a replacement (stating difficulties, if any) No specific efforts have been made to secure a replacement since the registrant's induction was not considered imminent. Registrant would be extremely difficult to replace because the position requires a detailed specific background which is required to execute the functions effectively.
19. Is a replacement and training program in operation No; contemplated No Explain: _____

CERTIFICATE

I, Carlton Hayward _____, hereby certify (or affirm) that I am Chairman (Chairman of _____) of the Committee whose stamp is affixed on page 1 of this form and that the foregoing statements are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

February 18, 1944 _____
(Date)

PRIOR APPROVAL OF **NO APPROVED** NEW COMMITTEE (If required under Part IV-1b of Executive Order 9309.)

* If answer to Item 13 is "yes," and the position is in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, occupational deferment is not to be considered unless the Review Committee executes the following approval:

The Review Committee gives, herewith, the specific approval to this request required by Executive Order 9309 and by Public Law 23 (78th Congress).

MAR 1 1944

(Date)

Chairman.

EXHIBIT No. 124

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

AFFIDAVIT—OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION (GENERAL)

(This form is provided for use in activities where Affidavit—Occupational Classification (Industrial), Form 42A, is not applicable)

Name: Edward J. Fitzgerald.

Selective Service Order No. 1742. Age 32 years.

Local Board 38, Philadelphia County, Philadelphia, Pa.

Duties.—Mr. Fitzgerald is Chief of the Facilities Utilization Section and Assistant Chief of the Industry Analysis Section of the Bureau of Planning and Statistics. In these capacities he is in complete charge of the War Production Board's periodic survey of some 12,000 manufacturing concerns, supervising the work of 20 professional and clerical persons in the Bureau of Planning and Statistics and of a staff of 135 persons assigned by the Bureau of the Census, and is responsible for analyzing and regularly reporting on the production and employment situation in key industries. The material assembled and analyzed under Mr. Fitzgerald's direction constitutes the only source of current information available in the War Production Board on the production of components for military and other end products, on the production of civilian metal products, and on individual plants in the war programs. They are also the only source of information on the labor situation in these industries. These data are essential to policy and administrative decisions in the reconversion period. This War Production Board function is now entering a crucial phase and requires direction by a person thoroughly familiar with the information that has been gathered, experienced in its analysis, and acquainted with the needs of various organizational units in the war agencies.

I, Carlton Hayward, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the foregoing statements are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

CARLTON HAYWARD,
*War Production Board, Third and C Streets, SW.,
Washington, D. C.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of February 1944.

CORDELIA M. BROWNE,
Notary Public.

My commission expires March 15, 1947.

EXHIBIT No. 125

Standard Form No. 61, Rev.
Approved Dec. 1943
C. S. C. Dept. Cir. No. 448

Form approved 1,509 ✓
Budget Bureau No. 50-2212
Approval expires Mar. 30, 1944.

REPORT OF EFFICIENCY RATING

ADMINISTRATIVE—UNOFFICIAL ()
OFFICIAL ()
REGULAR (✓) SPECIAL ()
PROBATIONAL or TRIAL PERIOD ()

As of MAR 31 1944 based on performance during period from 4-1-43 to MAR 31 1944

Fitzgerald, Edward Joseph Principal Economist P-5 5600
(Name of employee) (Title of position, service, and grade)

Office of Vice Chairman, Office of Business Development
(Organization—Indicate bureau, division, section, unit, field station)

ON LINES BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE	1. Study the instructions in the Rating Official's Guide, C. S. C. Form No. 3823A.	CHECK ONE: <u>OK</u>
V if adequate	2. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.	Administrative, supervisory, or planning <u>✓</u>
- if weak	3. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position.	All others <u>□</u>
+ if outstanding	a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italics</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions.	
	b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning functions on elements in <i>italics</i> .	

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>— (1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.</p> <p>✓ (2) Mechanical skill.</p> <p>✓ (3) <u>Some</u> the application of techniques and procedures.</p> <p>— (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).</p> <p>± (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.</p> <p>± (6) Attention to pertinent detail.</p> <p>— (7) Accuracy of operations.</p> <p>± (8) Accuracy of final results.</p> <p>± (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.</p> <p>± (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.</p> <p>— (11) Industry.</p> <p>± (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.</p> <p>— (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records? (Yes or no))</p> <p>± (14) Ability to organize his work.</p> <p>✓ (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.</p> <p>± (16) Cooperativeness.</p> <p>— (17) Initiative.</p> <p>± (18) Resourcefulness.</p> <p>± (19) Dependability.</p> <p>— (20) Physical fitness for the work.</p> | <p>— (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.</p> <p>± (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.</p> <p>✓ (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures.</p> <p>✓ (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.</p> <p>± (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.</p> <p>— (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.</p> <p>— (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.</p> <p>— (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.</p> <p>± (29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.</p> <p>± (30) Ability to make decisions.</p> <p>— (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.</p> |
|--|--|

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED OK

- (A) _____
- (B) _____
- (C) _____

STANDARD
Deviations must be explained on reverse side of this form

Plus marks on all underlined elements, and no minus marks. _____

Plus marks on at least half of the underlined elements, and no minus marks. _____

Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and any minus marks overcompensated by plus marks. _____

Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and minus marks not overcompensated by plus marks. _____

Minus marks on at least half of the underlined elements. _____

Adjective rating

Excellent

Very good

Good

Fair

Unsatisfactory

Rating official Excellent

Reviewing official Good OK

Rated by U. Lewis Bassie Chief, Industry Analysis Section April 8, 1944
(Signature of rating official) (Title) (Date)

Reviewed by Robert P. Hickman Div. Progress Div. 4/11/44
(Signature of reviewing official) (Title) (Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee _____ Report to employee EXCELLENT
(Date) (Adjective rating)

16-26177-2

EXHIBIT No. 126

JUNE 6, 1944.

R. W. Turney.
Carlton Hayward.
Deferment of Employees.

This is to advise you that the War Production Board Agency Committee on Deferment of Employees has taken favorable action on your request for a 6 months deferment in the case of Edward J. Fitzgerald. This request has been forwarded to the local board for their consideration.

EXHIBIT No. 127

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,

August 4, 1944.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Stacy May, Director, Bureau of Planning and Statistics.
From: Edward J. Fitzgerald, Progress Division.
Subject:

I have been informed that Mr. Bassie and Mr. Kaplan have submitted to you their resignation from the War Production Board as a result of the way in which the July progress report was handled, and that their release has been granted. I am convinced that under the circumstances exemplified by this situation and the operating conditions thereby established, it is no longer possible for me to do objective work and to perform a useful function here.

I therefore, submit my resignation and request release from the War Production Board.

EXHIBIT No. 128

Mr. EDWARD J. FITZGERALD,
Progress Division,
2077 Social Security Building.

DEAR MR. FITZGERALD: Your resignation of August 4 is accepted. I have instructed Mr. Turnley's office to see that you are provided with the requisite forms. I shall appreciate your filling them out in order that your release from the War Production Board may be made effective.

As I have explained to you at length in personal conference, I do not agree that the issue raised by the withdrawal of an article from the July progress report to the Board is one that should properly involve any question as to the possibility of you doing objective work or performing a useful function with the War Production Board. However, since in your opinion it does, I have no alternative but to accept your resignation with sincere regret.

Sincerely yours,

STACY, *Director,*
Bureau of Planning and Statistics.

EXHIBIT No. 129

AUGUST 22, 1944.

Re: Edward J. Fitzgerald, Order No. 1742.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
Local Board No. 38,
Philadelphia County, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: At the request of the War Production Board Agency Committee, occupational deferment was granted to Edward J. Fitzgerald, subject registrant, on June 9, 1944.

We respectfully request cancellation of this deferment, as the circumstances upon which case was predicated, no longer exist.

Very truly yours,

CARLTON HAYWARD,
Director of Personnel,
Chairman, Agency Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 130

SEPTEMBER 12, 1944.

Mr. J. A. EGAN,
Civil Service Commission.
Linda A. Matteo,
For the Director of Personnel.
Release of Edward J. Fitzgerald.

The War Production Board will interpose no objection to the release of Mr. Edward J. Fitzgerald to transfer to the Foreign Economic Administration as an Adviser on Program Statistics, P-7, \$6,500.

Mr. Fitzgerald was employed in our Office of Production as a Principal Economist, P-6, \$5,600. His last day of work was August 12, 1944, and his accrued annual leave carries him through 5 hours on October 30, 1944.

EXHIBIT No. 131

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington 25, D. C., September 14, 1944.

Transfer from: War Production Board,
Washington, D. C.

Name: Edward J. Fitzgerald, D. O. B. 11-19-11.

Posit.: Principal Economist, P-6, \$5,600 p. a.; Production Vice Chairman.

Locat.: Washington, D. C.

Transfer to: Foreign Economic Administration, Washington, D. C.

Posit.: Adviser on Program Statistics.

Gr. and sal.: P-7, \$6,500 p. a.

Locat.: Office of Administrator, Office of Economic Programs, Programs and
Reports Staff, Washington, D. C.

Under authority deriving from War Manpower Commission directive No. 10
and Executive Orders 9243 and 9063, the above transfer or reappointment is:

Authorized: Under war service regulation IX, section 2b effective on or after
the date of this notice, as agreed upon by the two agencies concerned. But in
no case later than 10 days from the date of this notice, except at the option of
the receiving agency, or unless otherwise ordered by the civil service commission.

Subject to the following conditions (if any) investigation.

WAR TRANSFER UNIT,
U. S. Civil Service Commission.

Mr. MORRIS. The next witness is Harry Magdoff.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you hold up your right hand and be sworn?

Will you swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be
the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF HARRY MAGDOFF, FLUSHING, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED
BY JOSEPH ROTWEIN, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name in full?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Harry Magdoff.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. MAGDOFF. 6862-136th Street, Flushing, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business or profession?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I am a research economist.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Morris, you may proceed.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest we have the identi-
fication of counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, please state your name for the record.

Mr. ROTWEIN. Joseph Rotwein, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW, Wash-
ington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Magdoff, for whom are you working now?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I am self-employed.

Mr. MORRIS. Who are some of your clients at the present time?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the ground that it
may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean if you would relate to us who your clients
are you would be giving testimony against yourself?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. It is my belief that the answer to that question may
tend to incriminate me, therefore I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the fifth amendment of the Constitution?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, let the record so state when the witness refuses to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last have government work?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I believe it was 1946, the end of 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Why did you leave the Government at that time?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. You will not tell us why you left the Federal Government at that time?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what nongovernmental employment you have held since that time?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I have stated my present employment, but beyond that, I must respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you doing any work for Communist clients?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You want the record to show, Mr. Magdoff, that you testify that you are self-employed but you refuse to tell us whom you work for, is that correct, upon the objections you have heretofore made?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

Senator WELKER. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What academic degrees do you hold, Mr. Magdoff?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Bachelor of science in economics.

Mr. MORRIS. From what university?

Mr. MAGDOFF. New York University.

Mr. MORRIS. What year?

Mr. MAGDOFF. 1935.

Mr. MORRIS. While you were an undergraduate at New York University were you a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party after you graduated from that university?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. Are you familiar with the publication entitled, "The Student Review"?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

Senator WELKER. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. I will ask you if it is not a fact that in the year 1932 you were chairman of the editorial board of the Student Review, which Student Review was published by the Communist National Student League at 31 East 27th Street, New York City, N. Y. Is that or is that not a fact?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mandel, I would like you to read into our record any reference you may have to the Student Review.

Mr. MANDEL. The National Student League, which was the organization that sponsored the National Student Review, is listed by the Attorney General, Francis Biddle, as a front organization of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, did your research show that Mr. Harry Magdoff was in fact the editor of the Student Review?

Mr. MANDEL. The masthead of the paper shows his name.

Mr. MORRIS. May that masthead be inserted in the record at this point, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 132" and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 132

STUDENT REVIEW

VOL. 2

NOVEMBER 1932

NUMBER 2

Editor: HARRY MAGDOFF

Managing Editor: STEVE FOSTER

Ass't. Editor: MORRIS B. SCHNAPPER

Business Mgr.: STEPHEN CROSS

Circulation Mgr.: THADDEUS ANDRUS

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THE STUDENT REVIEW is published monthly, October to July 1, by the NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE, 13 W. 17th St., New York City.

The Student Review welcomes any criticism from the students in regard to the National Student League or of any problems discussed in the Student Review.

The students are asked to contribute articles on student life and activity on the campus, in the classroom, in the industries and professions. Manuscripts should be addressed care of the Student Review and must be accompanied by a stamped return envelope.

Subscription: 75 cents per year (10 issues). Foreign: add \$1 for postage.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out at this time that in all of these cases of people who have been identified as Communists and who become members of Communist wartime espionage rings, when we put the question to every one of them about their Communist Party membership while they were at school, without exception they all invoked their privilege against self-incrimination in connection with that. May that fact be noted for our educational hearings?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be noted.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your first government employment, Mr. Magdoff?

Mr. MAGDOFF. It was with the National Research Project.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year did you work for the National Research Project?

Mr. MAGDOFF. It started in 1936.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Mr. David Weintraub help you get your job with the National Research Project?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. Did you know Edward J. Fitzgerald in that organization?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. Did you know anybody in that organization?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult with counsel?

Senator WELKER. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. The answer is yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you remain as a member of the National Research Project until October 1, 1940, when you accepted an appointment with the Advisory Commission to the Council of the National Defense?

Mr. MAGDOFF. That date checks with my recollection.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you the senior economic statistician with the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense commencing in October 1940?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I don't recall the exact title, but that sounds right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in this position did you have any access to classified information?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances leading up to your obtaining that employment?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. On March 1, 1941, did you take employment as the senior economic statistician with the Office of Production Management?

Mr. MAGDOFF. What was the date on that?

Mr. MORRIS. March 1, 1941.

Mr. MAGDOFF. It sounds right to me, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Then in September 1941 did you become chief of the Civilian Requirements Section of the Office of Production Management?

Mr. MAGDOFF. September 1941?

Mr. MORRIS. September 1941.

Mr. MAGDOFF. That sounds right, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have a job description of Mr. Magdoff while he held that position in the Office of Production Management? Do you recall what your duties were at that time, Mr. Magdoff?

Mr. MAGDOFF. At which time was that?

Mr. MORRIS. This was in the Office of Production Management when you were chief of the Civilian Requirements Section.

Mr. MAGDOFF. As I recall, the problem was to try to determine the level of civilian requirements, the requirements for steel and aluminum and copper, and railroad transportation and others, electric power, and so on, at different levels of economic activity through use of correlation analysis and involving statistical techniques.

Mr. MORRIS. In January 1942 you were with the War Production Board, were you not?

Mr. MAGDOFF. What happened was actually, as I recall it, being in the same organization, it was just that the names changed and the top organizations changed.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean the War Production Board was virtually doing the same work as you were in the Office of Production Management?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I don't recall when I changed my work, but the changes were made in the form of the organization related to gearing the economy for the war effort.

Mr. MORRIS. You then became head of the Production Progress Analysis of the War Production Board for the Executive Office of the Chairman. That was in March 1, 1942.

Mr. MAGDOFF. The date sounds right.

Mr. MORRIS. Then in May 1943 did you become the head economist and chief of the Program and Control Records Branch of the War Production Board, Tools Division, Washington, D. C.?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May 1943?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. MAGDOFF. I think it was in 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I wonder if you would tell us the circumstances leading up to your transfer from the Office of Production Management to the War Production Board.

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. As I recall it, to the best of my information, it was a transfer from one job to another. That is, the agency itself was reorganized.

Mr. MORRIS. Then in 1944 did you become the economic analyst, chief of the Current Business Analysis Section in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Commerce Department?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I think the date is right.

Mr. MORRIS. In December 1945, did you become chief economic analyst in the Office of Business Economics in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I think that also was a change in administrative setup. I don't recall the dates on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you became a planning officer for the Department of Commerce, did you not?

Mr. MAGDOFF. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, all during this period were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Magdoff, you heard the reading of the memorandum introduced into the record earlier about your being a member of an espionage ring that operated in Washington during the war?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I heard part of it, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I will read it again.

The head of the next most important group of Soviet espionage agents with whom Bentley has maintained liaison was Victor Perlo of the War Production Board. Members of this group were introduced to Bentley early in 1944 at the apartment of John Abt, general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

of America in New York City. The individuals in this group, included Charles Kramer, Harry Magdoff of the War Production Board, Edward Fitzgerald, formerly of the Treasury Department and then with the War Production Board.

Now, were you a member of the espionage ring described in this memorandum?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult with counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know the preceding witness today, Edward Fitzgerald?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. On Mr. Fitzgerald, have you seen him since you came to Washington pursuant to the subpoena that brings you here?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

Senator WELKER. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you talk over your testimony with him before you took the stand here, since you have been in Washington and pursuant to this subpoena?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you confer together with him at any place here in Washington since you came here by virtue of this subpoena?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Magdoff, will you tell us what your duties were as planning officer of the Department of Commerce?

Mr. MAGDOFF. As I recall, it was to review the activities, operations of several of the divisions of the Department of Commerce, in terms of efficiency of operation and relationship to the purposes for which they were to be operated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have any dealings as such with the Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. The answer is yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your dealings with the Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us what they were in connection with your official duties.

Mr. MAGDOFF. In general, it was attending staff meetings at which the assignment of duties were discussed.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, as a planning officer, what planning did you do, Mr. Magdoff?

Mr. MAGDOFF. The planning was primarily collecting and listing the information as a basis for planning, leading to planning.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. You collected the information and supplied the information so collected to the persons who actually did the overall planning?

Mr. MAGDOFF. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in doing that work did you confer with or discuss your work with any members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record so show.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the Department of Commerce take any action based on the information and material supplied by you to it?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I don't recall any specific action that was taken as a result of that.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Magdoff, according to the official summary of your employment here, you held five positions from December 1945 through December 1946, and they were, chief economic analyst in the Office of Business Economics in the Commerce Department; Chief of the Current Business Analysis Unit in the Department of Commerce; program planning officer in the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; program planning officer, Commerce, Office of Small Business; and program planning officer.

Now, the last job paid you \$9,975; the one before that \$8,750; the one before that \$8,750; the one commencing in December 1945, paid \$7,437.50 and the one after that, \$7,437.50.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show at this time, as it does, that those five employments were commenced subsequent to the date of the memorandum that was introduced into this record earlier, namely, November 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will so show.

Senator WELKER. After this memorandum was published and made known, as has been related by counsel, did anyone in any of the Departments that you were employed in call you in and interrogate you about any membership you might have in an espionage ring operating in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you know William Remington when you were in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever secretly pass any secret top level Government information to William Remington when you were in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, does Mr. Magdoff's file show any job descriptions that should be in the record at this time?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here Mr. Magdoff's application for Federal employment, dated June 5, 1944, in which he has the following job descriptions:

In the War Production Board, Head Economist; Chief of Program and Control Records Branch in the Tools Division; also Chief of Staff of Combined Production Resources Board, Committee on Machine Tools, adviser on planning and policy and responsible for developing programs of production and distribution control for Tools Division, which is covering 20 industrial groups, including all metal-working equipment from cutting tools and hand tools to industrial facilities of War Production. These analyses were part of a report made by the Chairman of the War Production Board to the top Board. Simultaneously held position of Chief Facilities Utilization Section, Statistics Division. In this capacity developed and instituted War Production Board Report Form 732, which was used to obtain monthly reports from 10,000 metal working firms on production progress of conversion to war work and utilization of facilities; made studies for War Production Board based on returns of these forms.

Now, further, under the War Production Board, he says:

Was responsible for making studies of the effect of military production program on the economy, with respect to gross national product capital formation and consumers' expenditures. These studies were applied to determine requirements of raw material, semifinished, and finished products, for varying amounts of military production. These demands were compared with potential supply to forecast shortages in specific materials, parts and services, transportation and power. This information was used in the development of capital expansion programs, and policy for priorities. Also directed special studies, flow of raw materials to ultimate consumer.

Now, in another application dealing with his work in the Department of Commerce, I read the following:

Serves in a staff capacity to the Secretary; represents the Secretary on matters relating to the program and policy of the Department; organizes as directed and works with interdepartmental and intradepartmental and other committees relating to the program and policy of the Department; prepares testimony to be presented to Congress and cooperates with the Solicitor in reviewing for the Secretary, testimony and correspondence relating to legislation affecting the general policy and program of the Department.

Now, a further comment in his application deals with the War Production Board:

Monthly analyses of utilization of industrial facilities for war production. These analyses were part of a report made by the Chairman of the War Production Board to the top Board. Simultaneously held position of Chief, Facilities Utilization Section, Statistics Division. In this capacity developed and instituted War Production Report Form 732, which was used to obtain monthly reports from 10,000 metal working firms on production progress of conversion to war work and utilization of facilities; made studies for War Production Board based on returns of this form.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Magdoff, in connection with the testimony you prepared for Congress, will you develop that a bit for us? That was your own job description, was it not?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Yes, but I can't recall any specific instances.

Mr. MORRIS. Of preparing testimony for Congress?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Of preparing testimony for Congress. As I recall, I did something on the St. Lawrence Waterway project.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give any information to any one of the machinery supplies that the U. S. S. R. might ask for under lend lease?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. You were one of the top advisers of Henry Wallace, were you not? You represented him in meetings. You were one of his top advisers, is that not true, Mr. Magdoff?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I don't know how you formulated it in terms of top adviser.

The CHAIRMAN. One of his main advisers?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I was one of his advisers.

The CHAIRMAN. According to your description, you were one of the main advisers in the Department, is that not correct, according to your own job description just read?

Mr. MAGDOFF. It is just a matter of words. I was one of his advisers.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you one of the advocates of Henry Wallace's 60 million jobs, and so forth, during the war?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you support Henry Wallace's candidacy for the Presidency?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer that question? It is perfectly legal for a man to run for President in this country. There is nothing illegal in supporting a man for the Presidency, in this country. Are you trying to be fair with us?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. It is my personal opinion that it may tend to incriminate me, and therefore I must respectfully decline.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. That is because you may have worked in concert with other people, and your involvement with these other people would cause the testimony to have that effect?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer. It would tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Magdoff, in all these positions that you have had in the Government, were you in a position, if so inclined, to help the Soviet conspiracy? Is that correct?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on that.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Magdoff, have you been loyal to the United States Government since you have been employed by the Government during all of this time?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Magdoff, do you remember taking a loyalty

oath on November 14, 1946, in which you swore, in answer to this question:

Have you ever advocated or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

And your answer to that being "No"?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. I want to send down to you, Mr. Magdoff, an instrument which I will ask to be marked as "Exhibit A," and made a part of the record, and ask you whether or not the signature appearing on this exhibit A is your signature, Harry Magdoff, dated November 14, 1946, in which you swear under oath that you have never advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States, nor will you ever advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States, by force or violence?

(Document handed to the witness.)

Senator WELKER. Directing your attention to the signature appearing at the bottom of that instrument, I will ask you whether or not that is your signature:

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer that question.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 133" and appears on p. 298.)

Senator WALKER. Why did you leave the employment of the Government of the United States?

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Senator WALKER. Were you offered a leave of absence?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. The answer is "No."

Senator WELKER. Were you fired?

Mr. MAGDOFF. The answer is "No."

Senator WELKER. Were you permitted to resign? Let me frame it this way:

Someone suggested that you resign from the Government, did they not?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Magdoff, what was your salary when you were in the national research project, approximately?

Mr. MAGDOFF. That is a long way back.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately.

Mr. MAGDOFF. It started between \$2,000 and \$3,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$2,000 and \$3,000. All right. What was your salary, approximately, because I know you cannot recall exactly, when you were with the Council of National Defense?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Around \$6,000 or \$7,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary when you were with the Office of Production Management?

Mr. MAGDOFF. \$7,000 or \$8,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$7,000 or \$8,000. Now, Mr. Magdoff, you would not deny to this committee that you were in positions of responsibility whereby you could be of great aid to Communists, if you wanted to?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel).

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give any data to representatives of the Communist Party when you were in any of this employment, beginning with the national research project, the Council of National Defense, Office of War Production, Management of Civilian Requirements Section of that Department, the War Production Board of the Department of Commerce, and the five Divisions of Planning in the Department of Commerce? Did you give any data?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give any data to any representatives of the British Government?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. On the combined Production Resources Board—I think that was the name—there was a pooling of information between England and Canada and the United States. I don't recall personally giving anyone any information.

The CHAIRMAN. But your data was available to the combined interests, is that correct?

Mr. MAGDOFF. The official data was available, officially.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were the Chief of Planning of a lot of that official data, were you not, Mr. Magdoff?

Mr. MAGDOFF. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker, do you have a question?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. Magdoff, as of this very moment are you a member of a secret espionage and sabotage ring, which ring is operating contrary to the interests of the Government of the United States?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel).

Mr. MAGDOFF. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Mr. V. Lewis Bassie your supervisor during your Government employment at any time?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Yes; he was, at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. In what position?

Mr. MAGDOFF. When I was working on civilian requirements.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever give Mr. V. Lewis Bassie as a reference?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel on that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I respectfully decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you serve in the Armed Forces, Mr. Magdoff, of the United States?

Mr. MAGDOFF. No.

Senator WELKER. How old are you now?

Mr. MAGDOFF. About 40.

Mr. MORRIS. I am finished, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to call to the committee's attention that witnesses whom we have had in this phase of our hearings, and these two witnesses here this morning, clearly begin to establish a definite pattern of a small group of people within the Government, kept moving from one key job to another in our war years, and in our postwar agencies, always moving to positions of greater importance, nearer to the top policy-making persons in our Government.

The pattern also shows, I believe (in the last four witnesses that we have had before this committee, that they started in the national research project which was an offshoot of WPA. They started at a salary of about \$2,000 to \$3,000, always moving upward, not only in positions of responsibility and authority near to the top policy-making people, but always with an increased salary; and this particular witness before us here now, started in at a salary of between \$2,000 and \$3,000 in 1936 and was with the Government for 10 years, moving from department to department, and he ended up with a salary of almost \$10,000.

I just want the record to show that.

Senator WELKER. And it is a fact, is it not, Mr. Chairman, that we have had some of these former Government employees who have come before your committee and declined to answer questions on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate them, questions going back as long as 21 years before?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right—with no possible chance of incrimination.

Mr. MORRIS. One question more, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man named Arneson, A-r-n-e-s-o-n? He is an atomic-energy specialist, A-r-n-e-s-o-n?

Mr. MAGDOFF. May I consult counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. To the best of my recollection, there was a Mr. Arneson, who was in the War Production Board, but I don't know of him as a physicist, and I don't think he could have been a physicist.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. That will conclude our hearing this morning and we will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a. m. the committee recessed, subject to call.)

(The following material was ordered printed in the record at this point:)

15. (c) If you will accept appointment in certain locations ONLY, give acceptable locations:

Yes	No	

(d) What is the lowest entrance salary you will accept \$..... per year.

You will not be considered for positions paying less.

(e) If you are willing to travel, specify:

☐ Occasionally

☐ Frequently

☐ Constantly

16. EXPERIENCE.—You are requested to furnish all information asked for below in sufficient detail to enable the Civil Service Commission and the appointing officers of agencies to determine your qualifications for the position for which you are applying. In the spaces provided below describe EVERY position you have held. Use a separate block for EACH position. You may also include any pertinent religious, civic, welfare or organizational activity which you have performed, either with or without compensation, showing the number of hours per week and weeks per year in which you were engaged in such activity. Start with your PRESENT position and work back, accounting for all periods of unemployment. Explain clearly the principal tasks which you performed in each position. Describe your experience in the Armed Services in question 17 (Military Experience).

(a) If you were ever employed in any position under a name different from that shown in Item 4 of this application, give under "Description of your work" for each position, the name used.

(b) If you have never been employed or are now unemployed, indicate that fact in the space provided below for "Present Position."

PRESENT POSITION

Exact title of your present position:

Program Planning Officer

Salary or earnings:

Starting \$ per

Present \$9975 per annum

Description of your work: Serves in a staff capacity to the Secretary, represents the Secretary on matters relating to the program and policy of the Dept. Organizes, directs, and works with inter-departmental, intra-departmental and other committees relating to the program and policy of the Dept. Prepares testimony to be presented to Congress, and cooperates with the Solicitor in reviewing for the Secretary testimony and correspondence relating to legislation affecting the general policy and program of the Department.

Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column

15. (a) Would you accept short-term appointment, if offered, for—
1 to 3 months? ☒ Yes
3 to 6 months? ☒ Yes
6 to 12 months? ☒ Yes

(b) Would you accept appointment, if offered—

in Washington, D. C.?

anywhere in the United States?

outside the United States?

Dates of employment: (Month, year)

From: April 7, 1946 To present time

Place of employment (city and State): Washington, D. C.

Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person): Department of Commerce

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of books, etc.): Government

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 1 secretary

Name and title of immediate superior: Philip M. Hauser

Reason for desiring to change employment: --- --

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

CS-10-0780-1

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

16. CONTINUED

Date of employment (month, year) From: <u>July 1944</u> To: <u>Feb. 1946</u> Place of employment (city and State): _____		Exact title of your position: <u>Economic Analyst</u>		Salary or earnings: Starting \$ <u>6500</u> per A Final \$ <u>7350</u> per A
Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division. <u>Washington, D. C.</u> <u>Bureau of Foreign & Domestic Commerce - Dept. of Commerce</u> Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.) <u>Government</u>		Description of your work: <u>Chief of the Current Business Analysis Unit. Published "Survey of Current Business" - a monthly review of business, including the basic monthly Statistical Services on business conditions. Prepared weekly reviews on economic developments - with a bearing on policy matters - for the Secretary.</u>		
Number and kind of employees supervised by you: <u>20 employees</u>				
Name and title of immediate supervisor: <u>M. Joseph Meenan and Amos Taylor</u> Reason for leaving: _____				
Date of employment (month, year) From: <u>July 1942</u> To: <u>July 1944</u> Place of employment (city and State): _____		Exact title of your position: <u>Head Economist</u>		Salary or earnings: Starting \$ <u>6500</u> per Final \$ <u>6500</u> per
Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division. <u>Washington, D. C.</u> <u>Tools Division, War Production Bd.</u> Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.) <u>Government</u>		Description of your work: <u>Chief of Program and Control Records Branch in the Tools Division. Also, Chief of Staff of Combined Production Resources Board Committee on machine tools. Advisor on planning and policy and responsible for developing programs of production and distribution control for Tools Div., which covered 20 industrial groups (including all metal working equipment from cutting tools and hand tools to machine tools, foundry equipment and presses and forges). Responsible for developing and analyzing statistical information for</u> <u>(continued on attached sheet)</u>		
Number and kind of employees supervised by you: <u>to principal statistical</u> <u>200 (from clerks)</u> Name and title of immediate supervisor: <u>Geo. C. Brainerd, Director (7/42 to 12/42) John S. Chaffee, Director (1/43)</u> Reason for leaving: _____				

Dates of employment (Month, year) From: Feb. 1942 To: June 1942		Exact title of your position: Head Production Progress Analyst		Salary or earnings Starting \$ 6500 per Final \$ 6500 per
Place of employment (city and State): Washington, D. C.		Description of your work: Monthly analyses of utilization of industrial facilities for war production. These analyses were part of a report made by the chairman of the War Production Board to the top Board. Simultaneously, held position of Chief, Facilities Utilization Section, Statistics Division. In this capacity, developed and instituted WPB Report Form 732 which was used to obtain monthly reports from 10,000 metal working firms on production progress of conversion to war work, and utilization of facilities made studies for WPB based on returns of this form.		
Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person): If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: War Production Board		Senior Economic Statistician		
Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.): Government		Description of your work: see attached sheet.		
Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 30 (statistical clerks - 4 professional grades)		Salary or earnings: Starting \$ 4600 per Final \$ 5600 per		
Name and title of immediate supervisor: R. A. Nathan, Director M. J. Meenan, Director		Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person): If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: Statistics Div. Office of Production Management		
Reason for leaving: More interesting assignment		Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.): Government		
Dates of employment (Month, year) From: Oct. 1940 To: Jan. 1942		Number and kind of employees supervised by you: app. 354 clerks and professionals		
Place of employment (city and State): Washington, D. C.		Name and title of immediate supervisor: V. Lewis Bassie, Chief Civilian Requirements Br. (10/40 - 7/41) and		
Reason for leaving: More interesting assignment		Name and title of immediate supervisor: Stacy May, Director, Statistics Div. (8/41 - 1/42)		

If more space is required, use a continuation sheet (Standard Form No. 50) or a sheet of paper the same size as this page. Write on each sheet your name, address, date of birth, and examination title. Attach to inside of application.

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

Standard Form 88

December 1945

U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Form approved.
Budget Bureau No. 50-R048.

CONTINUATION SHEET

For Question 16, "Application for Federal Employment," Standard Form No. 57

Fill in this form only when necessary for completion of Question 16, "Experience" on Standard Form No. 57. Enclose, 1. Date of this continuation sheet unattached, with your application. Typewrite or write legibly in ink.					
2. Mr. Mr. Mr. Harry	(First name)	(Middle)	(Last)	3. Date of birth Aug. 21, 1913	4. Name of examination
Dates of employment (Month, year) From: April 1936 To: Sept., 1940 Place of employment (city and State): Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person), if Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: WPB National Research Project 1015 Chestnut Street, Phila. Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale and insurance agency, mill, of local, etc.): Government					
Exact title of your position: Principal Statistician Description of your work: Chief of section on "Studies of the Labor Supply, Productivity and Production". Directed studies on production employment and productivity for manufacturing mineral, electric power and telephone industries. Also directed studies on size and composition of labor supply. (See attached list of publications.)					
Salary or earnings: Starting \$ 2900 per A Final \$ 4000 per A					
Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 75 (clerks and professionals)					
Name and title of immediate supervisor: David Weintraub, Director					
Reason for leaving:					
More interesting assignment					
Dates of employment (Month, year) From: July 1935 To: March 1936 Place of employment (city and State):					
Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person), if Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division:					
Exact title of your position: Description of your work: Did not work due to surgery in June 1935 and lengthy convalescence.					
Salary or earnings: Starting \$ _____ per _____ Final \$ _____ per _____					

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.):			
Number and kind of employees supervised by you:			
Name and title of immediate supervisor:			
Reason for leaving:			
Dates of employment: (Month, year)	From: Aug. 1934 To: June 1935 Place of employment (city and State): New York City		
Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person): If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment and division:	Silk Textile Code Authority 10 E. 40th Street		
Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.):	Trade Association		
Number and kind of employees supervised by you:	None		
Name and title of immediate supervisor:	Howard Heydon, Vice-President NBA declared unconstitutional by		
Reason for leaving:	Supreme Court		
Exact title of your position:	Statistician		
Description of your work:	Was responsible for studies of wage differentials and business practices in the silk-textile industry. These studies were based on field investigations (some of which I made myself) and, secondary statistical sources.		
Salary or earnings:	Starting \$1800 per Final \$2000 per		

(OVER)

16-4708-1

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

CONTINUED

Dates of employment: (Month, year) From: <u>Sept. 1932</u> To: <u>Aug. 1934</u>		Exact title of your position: <u>No title to position</u>		Salary or equivalent: Starting \$ <u>2000</u> per Final \$ per	
Place of employment (city and State): <u>New York</u>		Description of your work: <u>Was responsible for bookkeeping and accounting (prior to C.F.A. audit), preparation of financial statements and estimates.</u>			
Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person) If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: <u>Premier Painting Co. Inc.</u> <u>125 W. 101 St.</u>					
Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of hats, etc.): <u>Contractors</u>					
Number and kind of employees supervised by you: <u>None</u>					
Name and title of immediate supervisor: <u>H. Sokolow, Treasurer</u>					
Reason for leaving: <u>Left for position in field of statistics</u>					

37. MILITARY EXPERIENCE —In order to make most effective placements of war veterans, detailed information needed about the training and experience they have acquired in the Armed Services. Fill in the appropriate space for each service school you have attended. None attended no special or technical schools while in the service, write in Item (a) "No attendance at service schools," and indicate in Item (c) all important changes in duty assignment, showing date of such assignment.

<p>(a) First Special Service School attended:</p> <p>Location: _____</p> <p>Dates attended (months, years): _____</p> <p>From: _____ To: _____</p> <p>Rating received at end of this training: _____</p>	<p>(b) What were you taught in First Special Service School?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>(c) Duty assignment or rating after this training (give all important changes in duty assignment whether or not you attended a Service School):</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>(d) What did you do during this duty assignment?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Dates of duty assignment (months, years):</p> <p>From: _____ To: _____</p> <p>(e) Second Special Service School attended:</p>	<p>(f) What were you taught in Second Special Service School?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Location: _____</p> <p>Dates attended (months, years): _____</p> <p>From: _____ To: _____</p> <p>Rating received at end of this training: _____</p>	<p>(g) What did you do during this duty assignment?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>(g) Duty assignment after this training:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Dates of duty assignment (months, years): _____</p> <p>From: _____ To: _____</p>	<p>(h) What did you do during this duty assignment?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Dates of duty assignment (months, years): _____</p> <p>From: _____ To: _____</p> <p>List on a separate sheet of paper any additional experience, training, service, or special duty assignments during military service or hospitalization.</p>	

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

18. EDUCATION —Circle highest grade completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 (12) Mark (x) the appropriate box to indicate satisfactory completion of: <input type="checkbox"/> Elementary School <input type="checkbox"/> Junior High School <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Senior High School										(a) Give name and location of last high school attended: <u>Evander Childs High School, New York City</u> (b) Subjects studied in high school which apply to position desired:									
(c) Name and Location of College or University Major										Degrees Conferred Title Date									
(d) List Your Chief Undergraduate College Subjects										Years Completed Day Night									
Semester Hours										Semester Hours									
(e) Other training, such as vocational, business, study courses given through the Armed Forces Institute (show name and location of school), or "in-service training" in a Federal agency:										Dates Attended From— To— Subjects Studied									
19. Indicate your knowledge of foreign languages:										Dates Attended From— To— Years Completed Day Night									
(a) How was your knowledge of foreign languages acquired?										21. Are you now or have you ever been a licensed or certified member of any trade or profession (such as pilot, electrician, radio operator, teacher, lawyer, CFA, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No Give kind of license and State: First license or certificate (year): Latest license or certificate (year):									
(b) If you have traveled or resided in any foreign countries, indicate (1) names of countries, (2) dates and length of time spent there and (3) reason or purpose (e. g., business, education, recreation):										22. Give any special qualifications not covered elsewhere in your application such as: (a) your more important publications (do NOT submit copies unless requested) (b) your patents or inventions (c) public speaking and public relations experience (d) membership in professional or scientific societies, etc. (a) see attached (c) addresses before scientific societies and business groups (d) American Economics Assn. American Statistical Assn.									
20. List any special skills you possess and machines and equipment you can use, such as operation of short-wave radio, multilith, comptometer, key-punch, tunnel lathe, scientific or professional devices:										(a) How was your knowledge of foreign languages acquired?									

FULL NAME		BUSINESS OR HOME ADDRESS (Give complete address, including street and number)		BUSINESS OR OCCUPATION	
1.					
2.					
3.					
24. May inquiry be made of your present employer regarding your character, qualifications, etc.? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No					
Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column.		YES	NO	Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column.	YES
25. Are you a citizen of the United States?		X		35. Have you any physical defect or disability whatsoever? If your answer is "Yes," give complete details in Item 38.	X
26. Do you advocate or have you ever advocated, or are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence? If your answer is "Yes," give complete details in Item 38.			X	36. (a) Were you ever in the United States Military or Naval Service during time of War? (b) Is the word "honorable" or the word "satisfactory" used in your discharge or separation papers to show the type of your discharge or separation? (c) Was service performed on an active full-time basis, with full military pay and allowances?	X
27. Within the past 12 months, have you habitually used intoxicating beverages to excess.			X	(d) Date of entry of entries into service: Date of separation or separations:	
28. Since your 16th birthday, have you ever been convicted, or fined, or imprisoned, or placed on probation, or have you ever been ordered to deposit bail, for the violation of any law, police regulation or ordinance (excluding minor traffic violations for which a fine of \$25 or less was imposed)? If your answer is "Yes," list all such cases under Item 38 below. Give in each case (1) the date; (2) the nature of the offense or violation; (3) the name and location of the court; (4) the penalty imposed, if any, or other disposition of the case. If appointed your fingerprint will be taken.			X	Branch of service (Army, Navy, M. C., C. G., etc.)	Grade (rank) or rating at time of separation.
29. Have you ever been discharged or forced to resign for misconduct or unsatisfactory service from any position? If your answer is "Yes," give in Item 38 the name and address of employer, date, and reason in each case.			X	Serial No.	
30. Do you receive an annuity from the U. S. or D. C. Government under any retirement act or any pension or other compensation for military or naval service? If your answer is "Yes," give in Item 38 reason for retirement, that is, age, optional, disability, or by reason of voluntary or involuntary separation after 5 years' service; amount of retirement annuity; and date of retirement.			X	Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column.	
		YES	NO		
<p>IF YOUR ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTION (No. 36) INDICATE THAT YOU ARE ENTITLED TO VETERAN PREFERENCE, SUCH PREFERENCE WILL BE CONSIDERED IN THE EXAMINATION. IF APPOINTED, YOU WILL BE REQUIRED TO FURNISH THE APPOINTING OFFICE, PRIOR TO ENTRY ON DUTY, OFFICIAL EVIDENCE OF THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES DURING TIME OF WAR. DO NOT SUBMIT PROOF OF DISCHARGE OR SEPARATION WITH THIS APPLICATION.</p> <p>Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column.</p>					
37. (a) If you served in the U. S. Military or Naval Service during peacetime ONLY, did you participate in a campaign or expedition and receive a campaign badge or					

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

Harry Magdoff - Aug. 21, 1913 - 3226 Ravensworth Place, Alexandria, Va.

Question 22 (a)STUDIES MADE

1. "Production, Employment and Productivity in 59 Manufacturing Industries", published by WPA National Research Project, May 1939. 3 Volumes. Part One - "Purposes, Methods, and Summary of Findings" xvii + 155 pp; Part Two - "Indexes for Individual Industries and Methods of Construction", xiii + 230 pp; Part Three - "Appendixes", xv + 163 pp. (Senior Author)
2. "The Purpose and Method of Measuring Productivity", published in the Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. 34, June 1939, pp. 309 - 318.
3. "The Service Industries in Relation to Employment Trends", published in Econometrica, Vol. 8, No. 4, October 1940, pp. 289-311.
4. "Labor Supply and Unemployment" by Daniel Carson, published by the WPA National Research Project, November 1939, xxi + 330 pp. (Prepared under my direction.)
5. "Production, Employment and Productivity in the Mineral Extractive Industries, 1880-1938", by Vivian E. Spencer, published by the WPA National Research Project, June 1940, xviii + 186 pp. (Prepared under my direction.)
6. Selected reports made by me or under my direction while Chief of the Civilian Requirements Branch, Statistics Division, War Production Board. (These had limited circulation due to war security regulations.):

Estimated Petroleum Requirements and Capacity in 1941 and 1942.

Estimated Distribution of Civilian Expenditures, 1940-1942.

Transportation Situation in 1941 and 1942.

The Waterborne Commerce of the United States.

Estimated Consumption of Steel and Copper in 1942. ✓

EXHIBIT No. 133—Continued

Page 2

Harry Magdoff - 3226 Ravensworth Place, Alexandria, Virginia

Continuation - Experience No. 3 - Item 16'

July 1942 to July 1944

Tools Division, War Production Board

[statistical information for/
these industry groups on basis of
which the policies and programs
governing these industries are

formulated and carried out. Directed bi-monthly allocation of abrasive grain to consumers and screening of requirements for purchasers of anti-friction bearings. Responsible for estimating controlled material requirements and allocating these materials by industrial groups.

- - - - -

Continuation - Experience No. 5 - Item 16

October 1940 to January 1942
Statistics Division, Office of
Production Management

Senior Economic Statistician
(10/40 - 7/41)
Chief, Civilian Requirements
Branch (8/41 - 1/42)

Was responsible for making studies of the effect of military production program on the economy, with respect to gross national product, capital formation and consumers' expenditures. These studies were applied to determine requirements of raw materials, semi-finished and finished products for varying amounts of military production. These demands were compared with potential supply to forecast shortages in specific materials products and services (transportation and power). This information was used in the development of capital expansion programs and policy for priorities. Also directed special studies on flow of raw materials to ultimate consumer.

EXHIBIT No. 134

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington 25, D. C., April 27, 1953.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Notice to individuals: This record should be preserved. Additional copies of service histories cannot be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.

Name: Magdoff, Harry.

Date of birth: 8-21-13.

Authority for original appointment (examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive order, law, or other exemption): Executive Order 8257, act of September 21, 1939.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
Oct. 1, 1940...	Excepted Appointment.....	Senior Economic Statistician, P-5, \$4,600 per annum, Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.
Mar. 1, 1941...	Transfer (Executive Order Jan. 7, 1941).	Senior Economic Statistician, P-5, \$4,600 per annum, Office of Production Management, Washington, D. C.
Aug. 31, 1941...	Termination.....	
Sept. 1, 1941...	Temporary Appointment (Executive Order 8564).	Chief, Civilian Requirements Section, P-6, \$5,600 per annum, Office of Production Management, Research and Statistics, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 23, 1942...	Transfer (Executive Order 9040).	War Production Board.
Mar. 1, 1942...	Promotion and Inter-Division Transfer.	Head Production Progress Analyst, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, War Production Board, Executive Office of the Chairman, Office of Progress Reports, Washington, D. C.
July 1, 1942...	Intra-Agency Transfer.....	Head Production Progress Analyst, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, War Production Board, Statistical Division, Washington, D. C.
May 18, 1943...	Promotion and Inter-Division Transfer.	Head Economist (Chief, Program & Control Records Branch) P-7, \$6,500 per annum, WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, Tools Division, Washington, D. C.
Nov. 18, 1943...	Reallocation and Intra-Division Transfer.	Economist (Chief, Program & Control Records Branch) P-7, \$6,500 per annum.
July 3, 1944...	Separation-Transfer.	
July 4, 1944...	Appointment by transfer (Regulation IX Section 2b).	Economic Analyst (Chief, Current Business Analysis Unit) P-7, \$6,500 per annum, COMMERCE, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 18, 1945...	Transfer (Transfer of Personnel under Department Order No. 10).	Chief, Economic Analyst, P-7, \$7,437.50 per annum, COMMERCE, Office of Business Economics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C.
April 6, 1946...	Intra-Agency Transfer.....	Economic Analyst (Chief, Current Business Analysis Unit) P-7, \$7,437.50 per annum, COMMERCE, Office of Business Economics, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
April 7, 1946...	Intra-Agency Transfer (Section 2 of Temporary C. S. Regulation XVI).	Program Planning Officer, P-8 \$3,750 per annum, COMMERCE, Bureau of the Census, Office of the Director, Washington, D. C.
April 21, 1946...	Intra-Agency Transfer (Section 2 of Temporary C. S. Regulation XVI).	Program Planning Officer, P-8, \$8,750 per annum, COMMERCE, Office of Small Business, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 27, 1946...	Resignation (To accept a position in private industry).	Program Planning Officer, P-8, \$9,975 per annum.

NOTE.—The above transcript of service history does not include salary changes, intra-agency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report such actions to the Commission.

A. M. DEEM,
Chief, Audit Section.

EXHIBIT No. 135

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
DIVISION OF PERSONNEL SUPERVISION AND MANAGEMENT,*Washington 25, June 20, 1944.*

Memorandum for Mr. Kerlin.

There is attached a recommendation for the appointment of Harry Magdoff, Chief, Current Business Analysis Unit, Grade P-7 at \$6,500 per annum, by transfer from a position of the same grade in the War Production Board.

Mr. Magdoff is 30 years of age and was educated at City College of New York, New York University, and acquired four credits in Economics at the University of Pennsylvania. He has a fair reading knowledge of German and French, and presumably some knowledge of Russian since his parents were born in Russia. His record indicates that he has passed civil service examinations for statistical clerk, assistant social science analyst, inspector (wage and hours), and statistician. It is shown on the attached Form 57 that Mr. Magdoff served with WPA in Philadelphia from 1936 to 1940 at salaries ranging from \$2,900 to \$4,000 per annum; with WPB in Washington, D. C., from 1940 to January 1942, at salaries ranging from \$4,600 to \$5,600; and subsequently from July 1942, to the present date at \$6,500.

The Department's Personnel Regulations provide that—

"To the greatest extent practicable or possible under the civil-service rules, vacancies will be filled by the promotion of employees of lower grade. They will be filled by original appointment, transfer, or reinstatement only when no person already in a lower grade possesses the requisite qualifications or is eligible for advancement under the civil-service rules."

It would appear that in view of the great number of economists and statisticians in the Bureaus of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and Census, one with the necessary qualifications for this position could be found within the Department.

One of these, Mr. Louis J. Paradiso, Chief Economic Analyst, P-6, has been employed in this unit since December 12, 1940, and it is understood that he has acted as chief of the unit since Mr. Wardwell entered on leave prior to the effective date of his resignation on February 6, 1944. Mr. Paradiso is 41 years of age. He holds three degrees—B. S., M. A., and Ph. D. His government service has been continuous since April 1934 having been employed in the National Recovery Administration from that date to January 1936, when he was appointed in the National Resources Planning Board where he served until his transfer to the Bureau became effective on December 16, 1940. Prior to entering the Federal service, he was employed as instructor of mathematics in Lehigh and Cornell Universities for eight years. Mr. Paradiso's educational and experience background, therefore, considerably surpasses those of Mr. Magdoff. There may be other employees in the bureau who have just as good or better qualifications as the proposed appointee and whose records have not been checked.

Mr. Magdoff's selective service status is shown to be 1A and there is no indication that he has any physical defect or disability.

This appointment seems questionable since it is (1) contrary to the Department's policy to promote from within the organization and (2) Mr. Magdoff would appear to be subject to call into the military service.

T. F. J.

In the event that this appointment is approved it is recommended that it be approved for a lower grade until the man has demonstrated his qualifications for grade P-7 on these duties.

T. F. J.

OLDS: I have approved this, as Mr. Hopkins, of F. & D. C. has assured me that Paradiso does not want the place as he does not want to be worried with administrative duties. He also says that there is no one else available for this place. If he is called, we will not ask for his deferment.

MK.

EXHIBIT No. 136

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington 25, January 22, 1945.

Re Harry Samuel Magdoff, Order No. 1584

LOCAL DRAFT BOARD No. 3

1740 Massachusetts Avenue NW.,

Washington 6, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Receipt is acknowledged of your DSS Form 59 advising that the above-named registrant has been placed in class 1-A.

We feel that Mr. Magdoff is well qualified for his present assignment and that his services are essential to the successful prosecution of the part of the war effort in which this Department is engaged.

It is therefore requested that this case be brought to the attention of your Board of Appeals. Kindly advise me of the action taken.

Sincerely yours,

OLIVER C. SHORT,

Member, Agency Committee on Deferrals.

EXHIBIT No. 137

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

CLASSIFICATION SHEET

C. S. C. 11

Bureau No. FDC-4550

Check to indicate whether sheet is for (Give following information for Item Checked): Other change (x) Redescription of duties (Explain reason for submission of sheet).

Action No. — Date Jan. 25, 1945.

Classification

	Service	Grade	Class	Initials
Recommended by bureau.....	F	7	120	
Allocation by head of department.....	P	7	120	
Allocation by Civil Service Commission.....	P	7	120	JFD.

1. Name: Magdoff, Harry.
2. C. S. C. number of last sheet for this employee: F-7-120-30.
3. Employee's present basic annual salary rate: \$6,750.
4. Allowances (deduction for Q. S. L.).
5. Department of Commerce.
6. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.
7. Division of Research and Statistics.
8. Section or unit: Current Business Analysis.
9. Title of position: Economic Analyst.
10. Description of the duties and responsibilities of the position:

Under general administrative direction, and with exceptionally wide latitude for independent judgment, initiative, and action, with a large group of trained and creative economists and statisticians:

1. Serves as an expert analyst and adviser to the officials of the Department upon the fundamental problems arising from the mobilization of the Nation's resources for total war and the emerging problems now that the peak economic effort has been reached, and the economy machinery must be regeared for the shift to a less intensive war economy and later to a peace basis; is responsible for the development of material and analyses needed by the Department in the discharge of its responsibilities on the broad questions of production—allocation of resources—interrelationships of the major segments of the economy under war strains and as the war necessities give place to reconversion problems—anticipation of the major bottleneck and backward areas which retard the national effort in the realignment of the economy. Is responsible for the formulation of required programs and recommendations for official use, such programs to anticipate, rather than to follow, emerging economic trends.

The work entails a broad evaluation of the current functioning of the economy of the United States; extensive contacts with the personnel and material of the war and other Government agencies; and the broad use of discretionary judgment in both the selection of subject matter for treatment and the subsequent development of the analysis and presentation for effective use. Must be at all times in a position to interpret current economic developments and advise as to appropriate departmental action.

2. Directs and supervises the activities of one of the largest professional groups in the Bureau engaged in:

(a) The study and analysis of current economic fluctuations, their magnitudes and motivating forces.

(b) The study and analysis of the impact of the war and its aftermath upon major areas of the economy. Current requirements necessitate intensive analysis leading to final conclusions of a policy nature to be established in reports for use by the Department and for dissemination to other Government agencies and the business community as the subject matter permits.

(c) The preparation, improvement, dissemination, and analysis of current economic statistics, serving as a catalyst to maximize the results of the work in this field which can be made available through results of the work in this field which can be made available through the Survey of Current Business. These measures to be designed to give facts that must be available for intelligent appraisal—the current trends of production, orders, sales, purchasing power and market indicators, the volume and value of inventories, the flow of goods, and the use being made of consumer credit. This includes the fostering of new significant economic measures essential for its work in appraising the economy, and the market actualities or potentials.

(d) The development of the programmatic basis for an appraisal of the economy during the war, in relation to the economic potential, as a prelude to a report by the department which will draw upon the resources of the Division of Research and Statistics, and the source material of the Department and other Government agencies directly engaged in the war mobilization program. The initial report would be the forerunner of an annual series of volumes presenting an inclusive analyses of the function of the economy.

The analytical responsibilities embrace the general economic situation, and the current and prospective position of various industries and particular segments of the economy. Study is directed toward revealing the basis factors aiding or retarding the adequate function of the economy during war, and the later transitional and postwar adjustments, with a view to develop guidance and recommendation for both business and Government policy. The reports will have to be of an intensive character, developed and written in a style which will permit understanding of the fundamental appraisals so as to foster wide understanding and use.

10.

11. a.

b.

12. N. Joseph Meehan, Chief, Division of Research and Statistics.

13. Educational Training: Elementary school, 8; High school, 4; College, 4; Name: City College of N. Y., 9/30 to 2/33.

Technical or post graduate: Kind and extent School of Commerce, N. Y. Univ. 9/33 to 6/35, B. S. in Economics, 1935. University of Pennsylvania 9/39 to 5/40.

Experience and other qualifications 1932-34 Premier Painting Co. Inc. NYC Bookkeeping and accounting. 1934-35 Silk Textile Code Authority, NYC—Statistician. 1936-40 WPA National Research Project, Phila. Pa., Principal Statistician. Oct. 1940 to Jan. 1942 WPB, Washington, D. C. Sr. Econ. Statistician; Chief, Civilian Requirements Branch. July 1942 to July 1944 War Production Board, Washington, D. C.—Head Economist Employed in Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce since July 4, 1944—Chief, Current Business Analysis Unit.

14.

Signature of preparing officer:

A. I. MACDONALD,
Chief, Personnel Unit, December 9, 1944.

Signature of reviewing officer:

C. P. HOPKINS,
Assistant Director.

EXHIBIT No. 138

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

JANUARY 29, 1945.

To : Mr. Oliver C. Short, Director of Personnel.

From : Personnel Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Subject : Position held by Mr. Harry Magdoff.

The Bureau requests that the position held by Mr. Harry Magdoff, Chief of the Current Business Analysis Unit, which was placed in P-6 by reduction from P-7, by action of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, notice of which is dated January 27, 1945, be resubmitted immediately to the Commission for consideration by an investigator or group versed in or with a knowledge of economics.

The interested officials of the Bureau are of the belief that the action taken was due to a lack of a complete understanding of the work involved which calls for the highest type of creative and analytical ability and the capacity to contribute substantially to the formulation of the nation's economic policies during the war and in the transition and post war periods.

A. I. MACDONALD,
Chief, Personnel Unit.

[The note below is handwritten on the original:]

The Magdoff job was allocated to grade P-7 upon reconsideration by the Commission on 2-28-45.

Please file this in proper place in his folder.

A.

EXHIBIT No. 139

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION,
Washington 25, D. C. March 1945.

Hon. WAYNE-CHATFIELD TAYLOR,

Under Secretary of Commerce, Department of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR: This letter relates to the carrying forward of the German technical disarmament studies, in which your Department is cooperating with FEA. Mr. Mason Britton is acting as Chairman of the interagency committee on Project 11, which concerns "The Post Surrender Treatment of the German Machine Tool Industry." He has expressed a keen desire to have some assistance and help from Mr. Harry Magdoff, who is in your department. They were formerly associated together in studies in the machine tool field and Mr. Britton has great confidence in Mr. Magdoff's knowledge, background, and ability for the work he is undertaking. Also, he feels that the association of Mr. Magdoff with his group as a staff specialist on statistical and information matters would be a convenient way of feeding into the study project the information which is available in your Department.

Such an assignment would be on a part-time basis along the lines discussed in the correspondence between you and Mr. Crowley.

Thanking you for your past cooperation in this work, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY H. FOWLER,
Director, Enemy Branch.

EXHIBIT No. 140

APRIL 6, 1945.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER,

Director, Enemy Branch, Foreign Economic Administration,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FOWLER: This will acknowledge your recent letter concerning the German technical disarmament studies, and particularly the treatment of machine tools.

We shall be glad to have Mr. Magdoff contribute to this work from his background and knowledge in a consultative capacity, to the extent consistent with his present responsibilities. He is, as you know, in charge of our Current Business Analysis Unit which has as one of its major functions the preparation of the

Survey of Current Business. Getting out such a periodical, in addition to the other reports required, is demanding upon both his time and energy. It is well to caution you, likewise, that the calling up of one of his few assistants for induction into the Armed Forces will leave him with very little free time over the next few weeks.

Sincerely yours,

WAYNE C. TAYLOR,
Under Secretary of Commerce.

EXHIBIT No. 141

APRIL 24, 1945.

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY,

*Chairman, Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your letter about the planned study by the Senate Small Business Committee of the availability of equity capital to small business and Government lending to business and industry has been received. There is no doubt that these questions are a very important element in the general program of maintaining full employment, and I shall be eager to learn of the results of your studies.

I am glad to have the opportunity of cooperating with you in this undertaking. I have, in accordance with your request, assigned Mr. Harry Magdoff to serve as a consultant with your committee.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. WALLACE,
Secretary of Commerce.

EXHIBIT No. 142

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, May 1, 1946.

MEMORANDUM

To: Director of Personnel.
From: The Secretary.

Mr. Harry Magdoff herewith is detailed from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (Office of Small Business) to the Office of Program Planning, Office of the Secretary, pursuant to authority of the act of May 28, 1896 (29 Stat. 179) until July 1, 1946.

H. A. WALLACE,
Secretary of Commerce.

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in room 412, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Senator Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, before commencing the regular business of today, we have a list of questions and answers that were put to Harry Magdoff in connection with his reappearance which was scheduled here today. Mr. Magdoff's doctor [Dr. Harold Aaron] has said that his heart condition is such that the doctor deemed it inadvisable for Mr. Magdoff to come back for reappearance before the committee, and they agreed to answer questions put to him that would conclude the examination of Mr. Magdoff. I have the answers here.

When Mr. Magdoff is feeling better, he will come back and affirm the truth of the answers that I am now putting in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, there are a few other things that I would like to put into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may become a part of the record.

(A short recess was taken.)

QUESTIONS FOR HARRY MAGDOFF

Mr. MORRIS. Were you ever detailed to the Office of Program Planning, Office of the Secretary, by Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace? (See document 14, M1, I, W, showing that Wallace detailed Magdoff on May 1, 1946.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I do not recall the precise mechanics involved in my transfer to the Office of Program Planning. To the best of my recollection, Secretary Wallace, or others in his office, were looking for a qualified person to fill this position and I was selected. I am not certain whether Wallace personally detailed me or whether it was done by one of the administrative officers, although I assume that the Secretary must have signed some transfer papers to give effect to the transfer.

Mr. MORRIS. Give a description of your duties in the Office of the Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. MAGDOFF. Duties entailed reviewing operations in the several divisions of the Department for the purpose of assisting and stimulating business activity.

with emphasis on stimulating small business activity and the encouragement of correlation of functions between various divisions.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have access to confidential information or secret documents on this assignment?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Respectfully decline to answer.¹

Mr. MORRIS. Did you participate in interdepartmental planning?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Don't have any specific recollection of participating in interdepartmental planning, but I assume that I must have.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever take an oath that you were "not a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States," and that you would not become a member of such an organization? (See document 10, M1, I, W.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. Respectfully decline to answer.¹

Mr. MORRIS. Did Henry H. Fowler, Director of the Enemy Branch of the Foreign Economic Administration, ever ask Under Secretary of Commerce Wayne-Chatfield Taylor for your "assistance and help"? (See document 19, M1, I, W.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. To the best of my recollection, my services were requested in the Enemy Branch of the Foreign Economic Administration. I don't recall whether the request was made by Mr. Fowler or someone operating under him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Taylor loan your services to Mr. Fowler?

Mr. MAGDOFF. To the best of my recollection, my services were not loaned to Mr. Fowler. This goes back a number of years and my memory regarding what happened is somewhat hazy. However, it is my impression that after the request for my services was made, my superior asked me to make inquiry as to the time that would be involved in the assignment and that when I reported back that it would take several weeks, they declined to let me go.

Mr. MORRIS. If so, what was the nature of the "assistance and help" you gave Mr. Fowler and Mr. Mason Britten, Chairman of the Interagency Committee, on the Postsurrender Treatment of the German machine tool industry?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Answered by answer above.

Mr. MORRIS. What actions did you take, what policies did you recommend for the treatment of the German machine tool industry?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Answered by answer to question 8. However, inasmuch as I had experience in machine tools it is possible that advice may have on occasions been asked of and rendered by me, but have no specific recollection with respect to such.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the Division of Personnel Supervision and Management ever oppose your appointment to the position of Chief, Current Business Analysis Unit, of the Department of Commerce? (See document 65, M1, I, W.) Did it point out in opposing your appointment that your selective service status was 1A?

Mr. MAGDOFF. No recollection of any opposition, but in view of the document reference contained in the question, there may have been.

Mr. MORRIS. Did your superiors urge your appointment with the promise that "If he is called, we will not ask for his deferment"? (See back of p. 2 of same document.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. As stated in answer to question 12, I have no recollection regarding this. If it happened, either I wasn't told about it or was told about it and have since forgotten.

Mr. MORRIS. Did your superiors, in spite of this promise, actually ask for your draft deferment on January 25, 1945? (See document 36, M1, I, W.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. As stated in answer to questions 12 and 13, I have no recollection regarding this situation, but in view of the document reference contained in the question, they may have.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there another controversy between the Civil Service Commission and your superiors in the Department of Commerce regarding another effort to promote you on January 29, 1945? (See document 37, M1, I, W.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I have a vague recollection of there having been some discussion regarding my classification, but I don't recall what the nature of the discussion was.

¹ See footnote on p. 319.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Secretary of Commerce Wallace, ever appoint you a consultant to the Senate Committee on Small Business? (Document 17, M1, I, W shows that this happened.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. I don't specifically recall any appointment as consultant, but it is quite likely that I was a consultant and am inclined to believe that I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Solomon Lischinsky? Was he your assistant at WPB?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Respectfully decline to answer.¹

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Adrian Dewind? When did you last see him? Have you ever worked in the same office with him? Have you ever resided in the same home with him? Describe what your relations with him have been.

Mr. MAGDOFF. Respectfully decline to answer.¹

Mr. MORRIS. Were you the director of the Control Records Branch of the Tools Division of WPB? What were the functions of this Control Records Branch of the Tools Division of WPB? (History of the Tools Division, WPB, by Bradley Stoughton, McGraw-Hill, 1949, contains a description of the Control Records Branch, pp. 31, 32, as indicated. It should go into the record.) (Copy of this description is attached.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. Yes. The description contained in the statement annexed to the question is a good description of the functions of the Control Records Branch.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Eugene Gloss? What was his position in the Tools Division?

Mr. MAGDOFF. As I recall, Eugene Gloss worked in the ball and roller ball bearing section, and I knew him as a fellow employee.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you and Mr. Gloss once have a dispute over the questionnaire which you wanted circulated to the tools industry? Did Mr. Gloss protest that you were seeking too much information? Did you reply substantially as follows: "We want this information because we are going to keep on running industries from Washington after the war"?

Mr. MAGDOFF. This goes back a number of years and I don't specifically recall getting involved in a dispute with Mr. Gloss. I supervised the preparation of a questionnaire, which was designed to obtain from the industries, information which would enable the Division to anticipate bottlenecks in the production and delivery of ball bearings, in order that the Division would have enough time to prevent these bottlenecks. The questionnaire asked for a considerable amount of detailed information and there were persons in the Division who were of the opinion that requiring the industry to furnish such detailed information imposed too great a burden. It is my impression that it was on that ground that the questionnaire was opposed. Mr. Gloss may have been, and likely was, among those persons who so opposed the questionnaire. However, I don't recall telling him that the information was wanted because we were going to keep on running industries from Washington after the war.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you control the hiring of personnel in your Records Branch? Did you hire Stanley Graze and Alfred Van Tassel?

Mr. MAGDOFF. Respectfully decline to answer.¹

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have access to the number of bearings produced in the United States month by month? (Note to questioner: This was crucial industrial information; according to other members of the Tools Division by knowing the number of bearings produced of a certain type, it was possible simply by multiplying by two, to know the number of tanks produced of a certain type.)

Mr. MAGDOFF. Yes.

(The subcommittee recessed at 10:35 a.m.)

¹ The ground for declining to answer is the privilege against self-incrimination afforded by the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(The following material was ordered printed by the chairman at this point:)

123 EAST 69TH STREET,
New York 21, N. Y., June 17, 1953.

ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.,

*Counsel for Internal Security Committee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MORRIS: Reported herein is the cardiological examination of Mr. Harry Magdoff, a 40-year-old white male, who, at the time of examination, had a chief complaint of precordial pain. The patient states that this pain first occurred in 1948 and in the interim of time has been intermittent up until the present date. The patient further states that he has had many electrocardiograms, 2 of which are appended with this report, 1 done by Dr. Ernest P. Boas and the other done by the doctor who contacted Mr. Morris prior to my examination. He further stated, and it is borne out by examination of these two previous electrocardiograms, that he has never had any evidence of coronary thrombosis but there have been times when there was a questionable coronary insufficiency.

At the time of my examination, the patient stated that during the previous week this precordial pain has become more frequent, and 24 hours prior to my examination the pain became severe. At this time the pain lasted as long as 15 to 20 minutes, was associated with some pressure, and was relieved by nitroglycerin. At this time he consulted his physician on the telephone, was not examined by any doctor, and no electrocardiogram was taken. The patient further states that he noticed a small amount of exertional dyspnea and that occasionally this pain is associated with lifting heavy objects. There is no cough, no swelling of abdomen, and no evident ankle edema. Further, the patient has never been hospitalized for this condition.

The past history reveals no history of rheumatic heart disease, and there is no familial history of heart disease. No history of hypertension. There is a past history of gall-bladder disease, with a cholecystectomy and removal of gallstones in 1944. Patient still has dyscrasia to fats and fried foods, chronic constipation, and occasional yellow stools. Further past surgical history of resection of rib for empyema. No history of chronic lung disease or kidney disease.

Physical examination revealed a markedly obese white male in no apparent distress, complaining of occasional precordial pain. Eye grounds show no evidence of retinopathy. Chest was symmetrical. Lungs clear to percussion and auscultation. Heart demonstrated a regular sinus rhythm. No evidence of murmurs or thrills. No apparent enlargement. Sounds were of good quality. Second aortic sound accentuates the second pulmonic sound. Ventricular rate equals pulse rate, both being 84. Blood pressure 140/80. Abdomen was obese. Liver was not palpable. No other viscera or masses could be felt. There was no evidence of ankle edema.

Electrocardiogram report: Standard and chest leads done reveal the following information: Regular sinus rhythm rate of 85. PR interval within normal limits. QRS interval within normal limits. No pathological elevation of ST segment. No axis deviation. There was a small Q wave in lead 2 not of pathological significance. There was a small Q wave in lead 3 not of pathological significance. The T wave in lead 3 was isoelectric. There was a small Q in lead AVF not of pathological significance. The V waves were normal throughout. The electrocardiogram tracing is appended to this report. There was no axis deviation.

It is my considered opinion at this time that there is no objective evidence of heart disease. The continual complaint of the patient of precordial pain cannot be denied, but from all the accumulated data one cannot give a diagnosis of heart disease.

Sincerely yours,

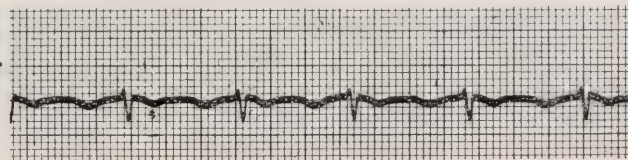
ROBERT A. O'CONNOR, M. D.*

*Dr. O'Connor was asked by the subcommittee to examine Magdoff.

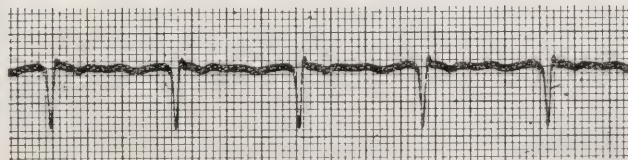
PATIENT Macdonald, MR H. SERIAL NO. _____AGE 40 SEX Male CASE NO. _____

DATE _____

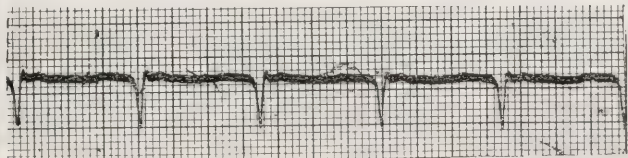
DOCTOR _____



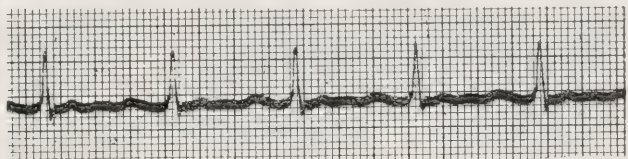
LEAD 1



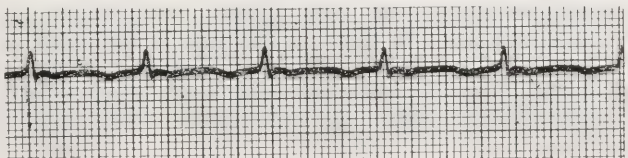
LEAD 2



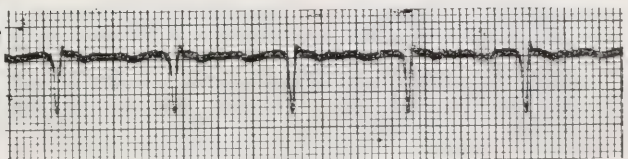
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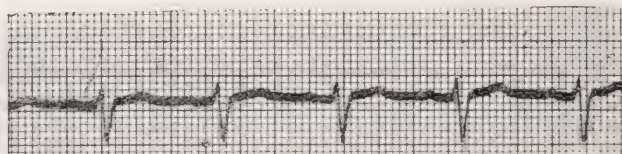


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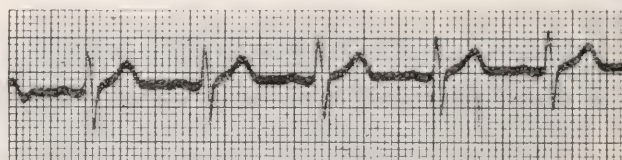


AVF

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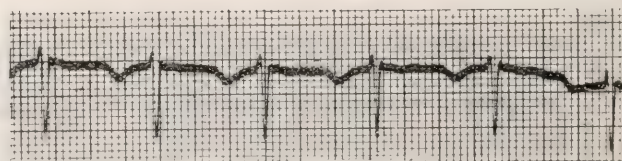


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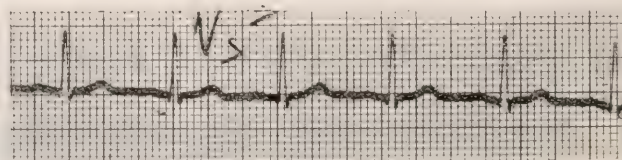
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 Q-R-S Interval 0.6
 S-T Segment



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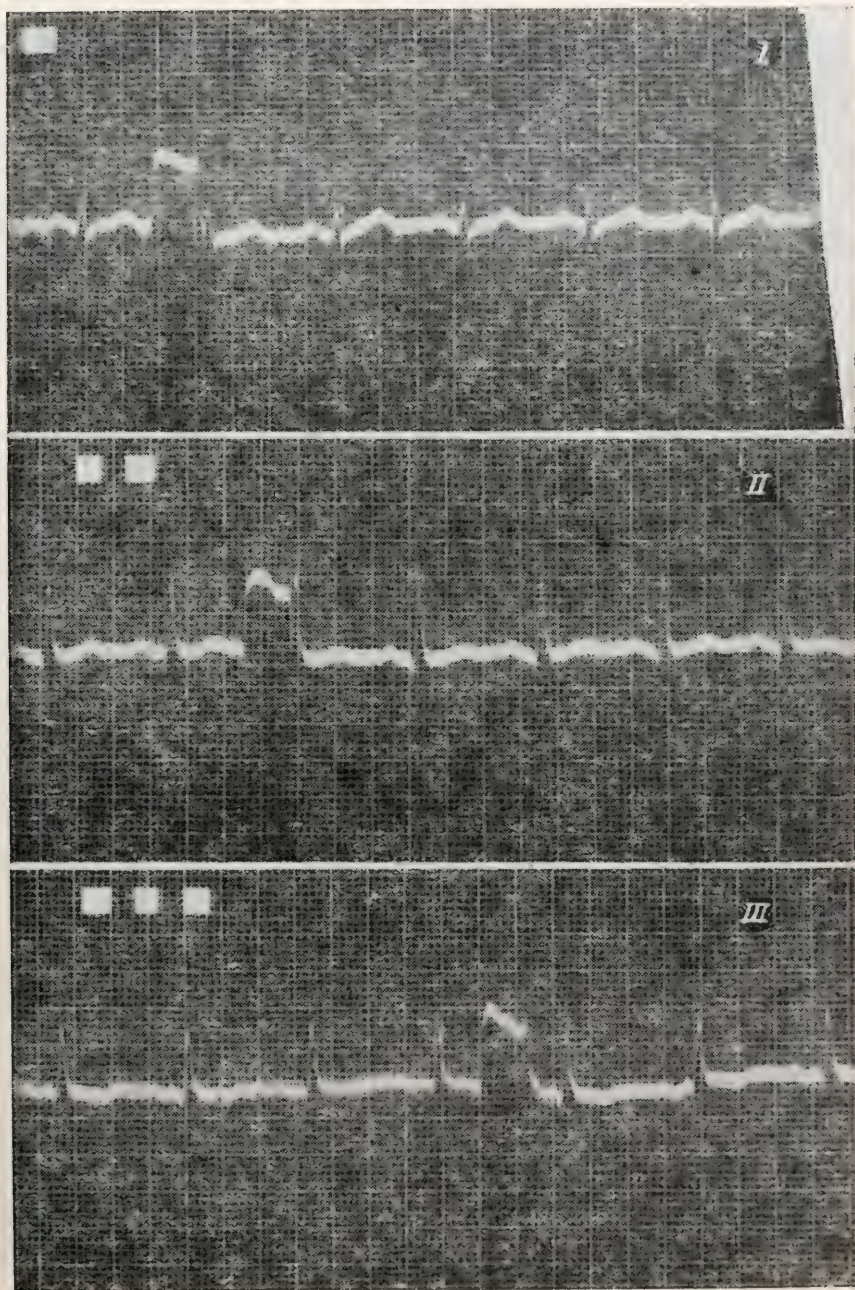
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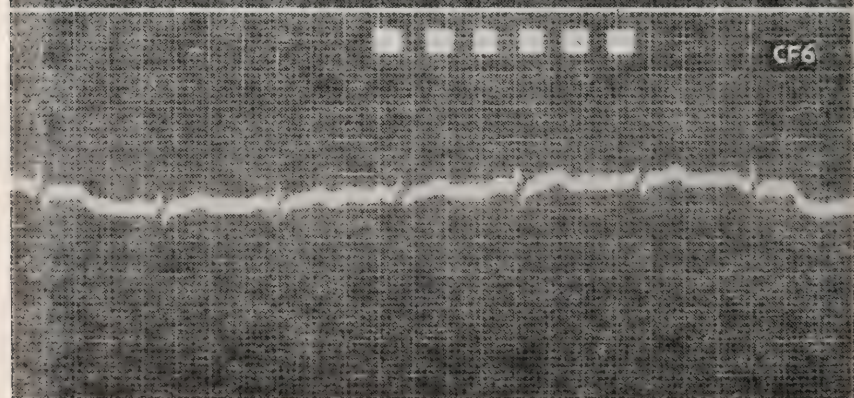
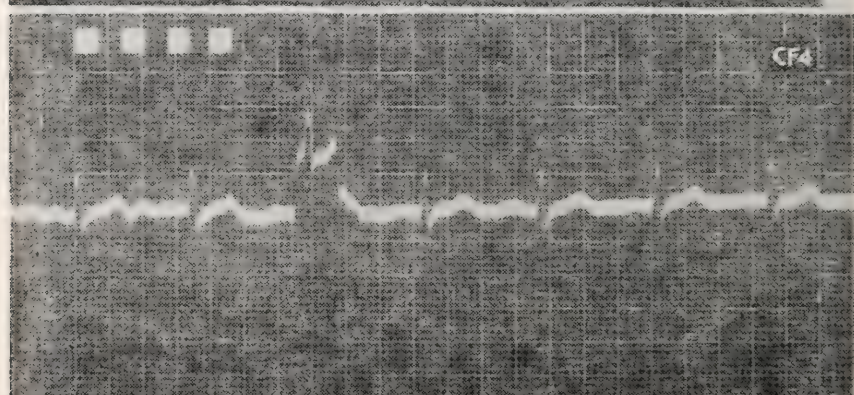
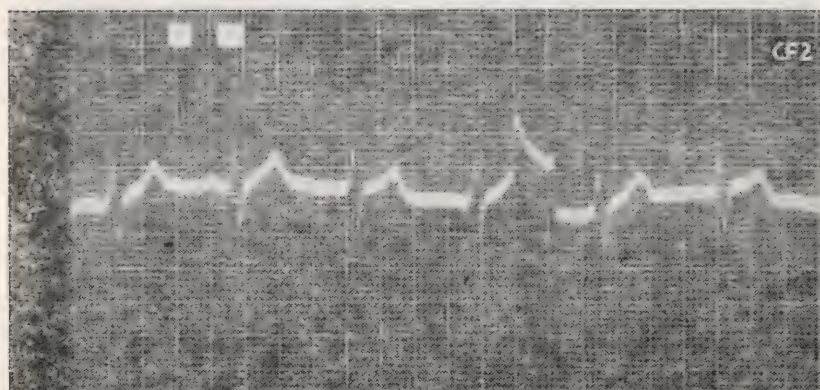
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 Ventricular Rate 84
 Rhythm Reg.

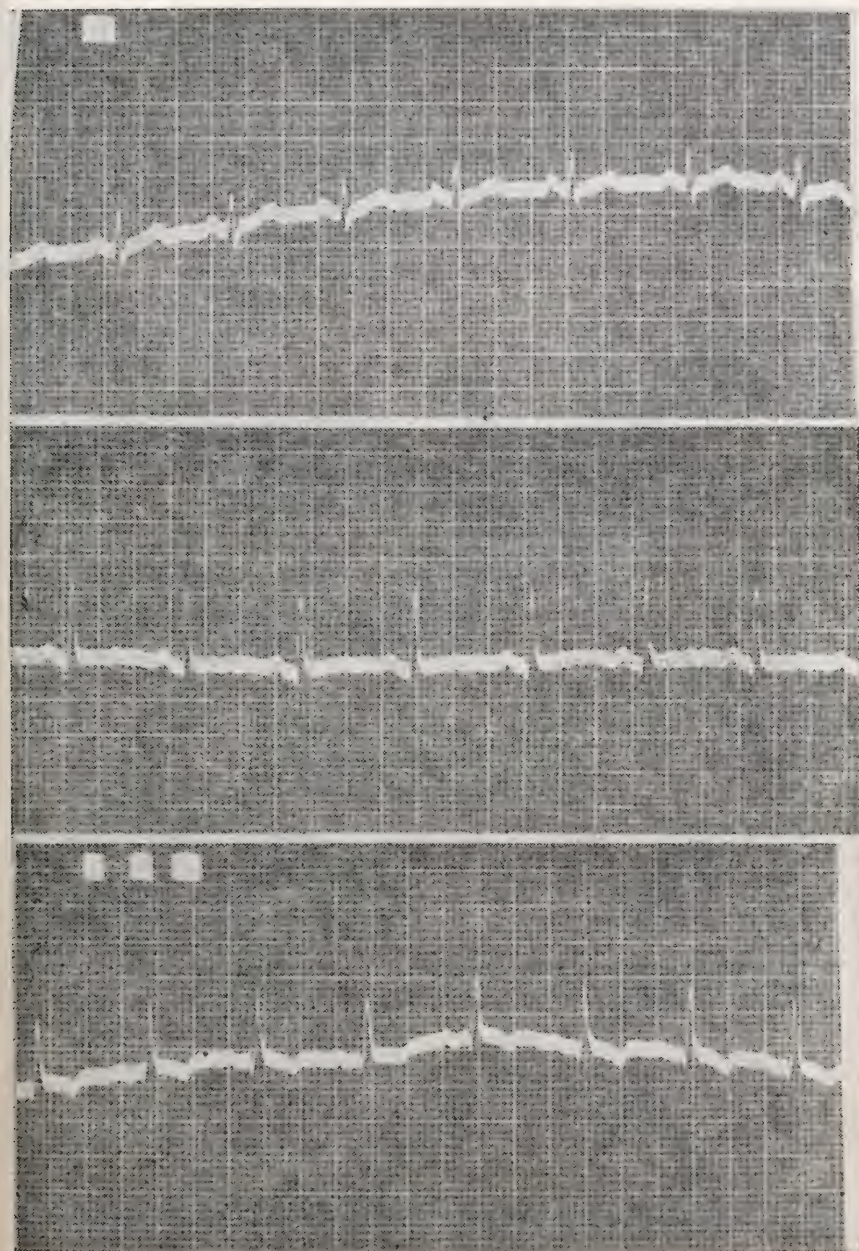


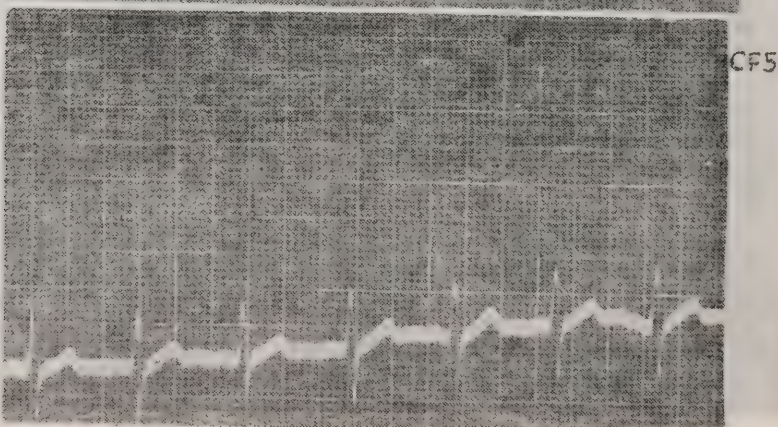
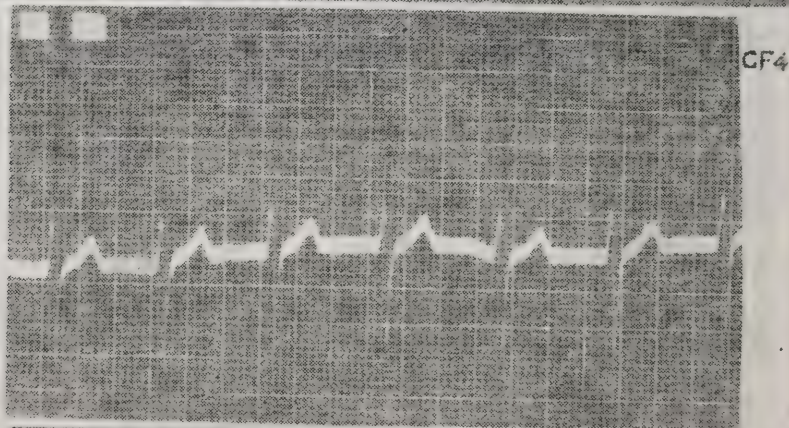
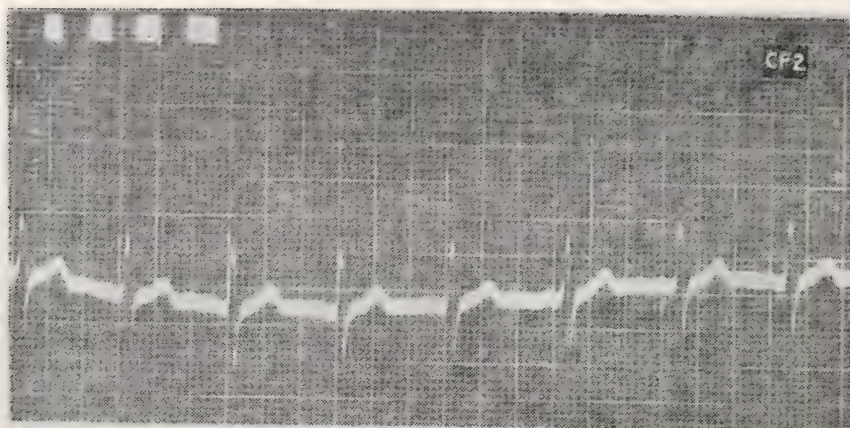
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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENTS

MAY 6, 1953

PART 6

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:35 a. m., in room 357, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner and Johnston.

Also present: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Robert C. McManus, staff member.
The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. KRAMER, will you stand and be sworn to testify?

Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KRAMER. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES KRAMER, CROTON, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED
BY JOSEPH FORER, ATTORNEY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be seated. State your name to the committee.

Mr. KRAMER. Charles Kramer.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. KRAMER. 83 Grand Street, Croton, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business or profession?

Mr. KRAMER. I am an economist and research worker.

The CHAIRMAN. An economist?

Mr. KRAMER. And research worker.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris, will you proceed with the questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kramer, for whom do your work presently?

Mr. KRAMER. The Progressive Party.

Mr. MORRIS. The Progressive Party?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you work for the Progressive Party?

Mr. KRAMER. 17 West 45th Street.

Mr. MORRIS. You are in their permanent office; is that it?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. As an economist?

Mr. KRAMER. And research.

Mr. MORRIS. And a research man. What do you do?

Mr. KRAMER. I prepare materials, mostly for field, to be used in the field, at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kramer, I cannot hear you.

Mr. KRAMER. I prepare various materials that are used in the field, bulletins, research materials used by the various groups throughout the country.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you graduated from New York University in 1927, did you not, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You got an A. B. degree at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. Bachelor of Science.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you got your master's degree in 1931?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Also at New York University?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And your first Government employment was with the AAA in 1933, is that right?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kramer, when you obtained your B. S. degree from New York University, were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment, not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. And in 1931, when you obtained your M. A. degree, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, after you came to Washington and you worked at the AAA, were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer the question on the same basis, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have introduced in the record this memorandum referred to several times previously, which was brought out by then Congressman Nixon, in 1950. The paragraph which is already in our record reads:

The head of the most important group of Soviet espionage agents with which Bentley has maintained liaison was Victor Perlo of the War Production Board. Members of this group were introduced to Bentley early in 1944 at the apartment of John Abt, general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The individuals in this group include Charles Kramer, an investigator for Senator Kilgore's committee in the United States Senate.

and this is Mr. Kramer here before you.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record at this time the so-called Berle notes, the notes that Adolf Berle took after an interview with Whittaker Chambers in 1939.

I notice in a third category on these notes, we have, under the general heading of "Pressman":

Underground organized by the late Harold Ware; Pressman was in his group—Pressman then in the AAA.

Nathan Witt—Secretary of the NLRB—head of the underground group after Harold Ware.

There were several other names mentioned, those of John Abt and Mr. Abt's sister, Marian Bacharach:

Meeting place: John Abt's house—15th Street.

Then it has the name:

Charles Krivitsky—also known as Charles Kramer—(CIO) worked in La Follette Committee—physicist.

I would like all of these to go into the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 143 and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 143

[London—Underground Espionage Agent]

(1) Dr. Philip Rosenbliett—Formerly of (41st St. & B'way, NE); Dr. Greengard MD (West 70th N. Y.); Brother-in-law: American leader of British Underground C.; Head in America Mack Moren (alias Philipovitch—allegedly Yugoslav)—real name—(?).

Rosenbliett—In U. S.; Connected with Dr. Isador Liller—Chemist's Club—41st St. Chemist, Explosive Arsenal, Picatinny, N. J.; was "front" behind Mack Moren existed—in Miller's employ; Knew Pressman—his alias was "Cole Philips"—Introduced him to Mack Moren, buying arms for Spanish (Loyalist) Gov't—Pressman—as counsel—helped Moren—made a flight to Mexico with him, forced down at Brownsville, Tex., in late '36 or early '37—probably fall of '36.

Pressman: Underground organized by the late Harold Ware; Pressman was in his group—(1932-3??) Pressman then in the AAA.

Nathan Witt—Secretary of the NLRB—head of the underground group after Harold Ware.

John Abt—followed Witt in that group—Tax Div'n—Dep't of Justice & now in CIO (H. Ware's widow—Jessica Smith, Ed., Soviet Russia).

Mr. Abt—Sister: Marion Bacharach—Secretary—Communist from Minnesota. (Jessica Smith: With Rauters in 1926—friend of Louis Fischer).

Meeting place: John Abt's house—15th St.

Charles Krivitsky—alias Charles Kramer—(CIO) worked in La Follette Committee—Physicist.

Vincent Reno—Now at Aberdeen Proving Grounds—Computer—Math. Assist. to Col. Zornig (Aerial bomb sight detectors). Formerly CP organizer under alias "Lance Clark."

Philip Reno—in Social Security (?)—Was head of Underground Trade Union Group Political leader.

Elinor Nelson, treasurer of Fed. Employees' Union (Fed. Workers' Union, CIO—headed by Jake Baker).

Reno connected with Baltimore Party organizer—Benjamin (Bundey) Friedman alias Field—then California—then Russia—now organizer for Baltimore & Washington of Above-Ground Party—Underground connections.

State: Post—Editorship, Foreign Service Journal. Was in Alexandria Unit of CP—in "Underground Apparatus"—Duggan—Laurence—Member CP(?).

(Wadleigh) Wadley—Trade Agreement Section; Lovell—Trade Agreement Section; Communist Shop Group; Elinor Nelson—Laurence Duggan—Julian Wadleigh.

West European Div'n—Field: still in (Levine says he is out, went into I. E. O. Then in Committee for Repatriation. His leader was Hedda Comperta).

Laughlin Currie: Was a "Fellow Traveler"—Helped various Communists—never went the whole way.

S. E. C.—Philip Reno—used to be.

Treasury: Schlomer Adler (Sol Adler?); Counsel's Office; Sends weekly reports to C. P. (Gen. Counsel's Office); Frank Coe Now teacher at McGill. There are two: brother—one of them in CP's "Foreign Bureau"—Bob Coe.

Known from Peters—formerly in Bela Kun Govt. Agricultural Commissariat—called Gandoss (?) Then to Russia—then here, in Business Office of Communist paper "Uj Elori"—then, after 1929—head of CP Underground, lived in Hamilton Ap'ts. Woodside, L. I.—under alias "Silver"—& lectured in Communist camps—Friend: "Blake" of "Freiheit"—Real name—Wiener American: Polish Jew. Peters was responsible for Washington Sector Went to Moscow—where is he now?—Wife—a Comintern courier—

West Coast—Head: "The Old Man"—Volkov is his real name—daughter and Comintern courier. He knows the West Coast underground—Residence: San Francisco or Oakland.

Alexander Trachtenberg—Politburo—Member of the Exec. Committee; Head of GPU in U. S.; Works with Peters.

Plans for two Superbattleships—secured in 1937—who gave—Karp, brother-in-law of Molotov, working with Scott Ferris, got this released. Now; Naval Architect working on it, why? Field was original contact; He introduced Duggan to Gomperts (Hedda); Duggan's relationship was casual—Shall excuse?—Where is Hedda Gomperts?—Duggan & Field supposed to have been both members of party.

Donald Hiss (Philippine Adviser); Member of C. P. with Pressman & Witt—Labor Dep't.—Asst. to Frances Perkins—Party wanted him there—to send him as arbitrator in Bridges trial—Brought along by brother.

Alger Hiss: Ass't. to Sayre—CP—1937; Member of the Underground Com.—Active Baltimore boys—Wife—Priscilla Hiss Socialist—Early days of New Deal.

NOTE.—When Loy Henderson interviewed Mrs. Rubens his report immediately went back to Moscow. Who sent it? Such came from Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kramer, have you also been known as Charles Krivitsky?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you changed your name to Charles Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. When did that change take place?

Mr. KRAMER. 1935, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Harold Ware cell which met in Washington during the years 1933 and following?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds that I have previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have evidence in the record. Nathaniel Weyl testified before this committee that this witness here before us, Charles Kramer was, in fact, a member of the Harold Ware cell of the Communist Party in 1933 and 1934. We have also testimony of Whittaker Chambers, and I would like to put into the record at this time an excerpt from Whittaker Chambers' book, which supplements his testimony.

The Ware group, in 1934 and 1935, when I knew it best, consisted of a leading committee of seven men. All were Communists, and they met to discuss policy, organization, personnel and projects. Several of the leaders of the group also headed secret cells. Of one cell, I caught a glimpse when I once happened in unexpectedly at the apartment of Charles Kramer.

Did Whittaker Chambers ever attend a cell meeting in your home, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same basis.

Mr. MORRIS. I have three more paragraphs from Witness by Whittaker Chambers that I want to put in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 144" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 144

CHARLES KRAMER

(Excerpt from Witness Whittaker Chambers)

"The Ware Group, in 1934 and 1935, when I knew it best, consisted of a leading committee of seven men. All were Communists and they met to discuss policy organization, personnel, and projects. Several of the leaders of the group also headed secret cells. Of one cell, I caught a glimpse when I once happened in unexpectedly at the apartment of Charles Kramer. I attended a meeting of another cell (headed by Henry Collins) at the house of a future employee of the State Department who has since left its service. Each meeting included some 15

or 15 members. There must have been 4 (and possibly more) such cells. Assuming that each contained about the same number of members, there must have been 75 underground Communists in the Ware Group. That, it seems to me, is a conservative figure. The overwhelming number of these Communists were employees of the United States Government.

"The relationship of the leading committee to the secret cells was much like that of the central committee to the units of the open Communist Party. The group was headed, when I first knew it, by Harold Ware himself. After Ware's death in 1935, Nathan Witt became the leader of the group. Later, John Abt, for reasons not known to me, became its leader.

"An effort has been made to describe the Ware Group as merely a 'Marxist study group.' That is not true. The Ware Group was an integral (and highly important) unit of the underground section of the American Communist Party. Until his death, it was under the constant direction of Harold Ware. It was always under the personal supervision of J. Peters, whose visits to it were at least monthly, and sometimes more frequent. On trade-union and other labor problems, at least one of its members sometimes consulted in New York with Jack Stachel, one of the party's top men in trade-union work."

Mr. MORRIS. At that time did you know Alger Hiss, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know John Abt?

Mr. KRAMER. I know John Abt.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Was he in AAA at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. He may have been for a time. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. And Nathan Witt.

Mr. KRAMER. I knew Nathan Witt, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were not those four men Hiss, Pressman, Abt, and Witt, all employed by the AAA at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall whether they were all employed at the same time or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was your first superior in AAA?

Mr. KRAMER. Frederic Howe.

Mr. MORRIS. H-o-w-e?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man named Peek as one of your employers at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. He was not my employer at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his first name?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no idea who it is you are referring to now.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that George Peek?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, at one time George Peek was head of the AAA, but I don't remember if it was at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you remember that Mr. Peek wrote a book saying that many of his subordinates were revolutionaries and Communists?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recall that? What were your duties in AAA, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Mostly to prepare economic memoranda on various marketing agreements, and other programs of the AAA as they affected consumer prices and supply; and then I subsequently went to work for the sugar division of the AAA, and at that time my work shifted to field work in the sugar section, which dealt with the provisions of the Jones-Costigan Sugar Act, at that time, if I recall.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was your starting salary there, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I think it was \$3,200 or \$3,600. I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. What was it when you left the AAA in 1935?

Mr. KRAMER. I think it was \$3,800.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have any references for Mr. Kramer transferring from his job from AAA to NYA?

Mr. MANDEL. We have a job description here.

Mr. MORRIS. May that job description, Mr. Chairman, go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The information referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 145" and is as follows:)

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT, TRANSFER, REINSTATEMENT, OR PROMOTION, ETC.

(FORM NO. 1-1-10)

(This form is used to describe, temporarily, the substitution of a person whose official action is suspended for his own. It should be indicated only through the appropriate column, and only in the official action is suspended.)

Any false statement in an application, or alteration of a certificate or certificate of appointment to the Commission of any such paper, is a violation of the law and punishable as such. All answers must be in ink or typewriting. If more space is required, an additional sheet securely fastened to this form may be used. Answers on such sheet should be numbered to correspond to questions.

GIVE DATES AND PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED IN YEARS AND MONTHS AS ACCURATELY AS POSSIBLE.

Print your name, address, and date of birth, and if married, give your own name, on "Myself." If a woman, print "Miss" or "Mrs." and if married, give your own name, on "Myself."

Charles Kramer
61 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn
New York Kings New York

Applicants will not fill the following blanks

Rating Application No. 100-100000
Kind of Appointment
Place
Date
Applicant
By whom approved

1. For what position are you filing this form? Yes
2. Are you a citizen of the United States? Yes
3. Give the date of your birth. Dec. 24, 1904
4. Give in the blank below a detailed statement of your education, in any form.
(a) Grammar School: Atlantic City, 1914.
(b) High School: Atlantic City, 1916.
(c) University: University of Maryland, 1916.
(d) This school: State and Territory E.S.O. School, 1916.
Issued from Feb. 1920. June 1921. Approved and issued 1921.

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If you are in "Yes" state when and where employed and give the date and address of your employer and the reason for your discharge or forced termination in each case.

7. Within the past 12 months have you used intoxicating beverages?

No
Yes or No

Habitually?

No
Yes or No

To excess?

No
Yes or No

8. If you have ever used bottles of a mechanical trade, name the trade of bottles, and state when, giving dates and dates. (If you have served an apprenticeship, so state)

General farm work. (see question 5 above)

10. If not now employed, state how long you have been unemployed

11. Have you ever been in the United States military or naval service?

No

12. (a) Have you ever filed an application with this Commission or its representative for any branch of the United States Government service?

Yes

(b) If so, give information indicated regarding each examination.

Name each position for which examined, or for which application was filed

Economist

In what city were you, or are you to be, examined?

not examined

Give the date of each examination (Month and year)

Indicate your answer "Yes" or "No"

9. Have you ever been arrested, or committed into Court as a delinquent, or included in complaint, or placed in any institution for placement or probation, or been charged with criminal offenses, or been charged with violation of any law or police regulation or ordinance whatsoever?

No

Yes or No

If by list all the cases without any exception in brief, or on a sheet attached, giving in each case to the date of your case at the time, (a) the place where the sheet of case was taken, (b) the name and location of the sheet, (c) the nature of the offense or violation, (d) the penalty, if any, imposed, or other disposition. The above question includes arrests by military or naval authorities as well as civil cases. If arrested, your fingerprints will be taken.

10. Have you ever worked at each, and which, and for how long?



If so, give dates of examination and dates of enlistment and discharge.

EXHIBIT

NON COMP

12. In what State or Territory have you legal or voting residence?	Length of such residence there? (Standard date to above up to date of exam)	In what country have you legal or voting residence?	Length of such residence in country? (Standard date to above up to date of exam)
New York	From Dec. 1906 to present	New York Kings	From Oct. 1911 to present

13. If during the past year you have not resided continuously in the State or Territory in which you claim legal or voting residence, or are not now actually living in such State or Territory, answer the following questions fully:

(a) For what periods since such residence was first established have you been absent therefrom? (Give dates)

(b) What is the name, address, and relationship of the person, if any, living at the place in the State or Territory in which you claim legal or voting residence?

(c) Are you now a voter in such State or Territory?

14. Are you a member of any Communist or Communist-Bund organization or any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States, or do you have membership in or any affiliation with any group, association, or organization which advocates, or tends to result in, the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States? ☒ No ☐ Yes

15. Are you a member of any Communist or Communist-Bund organization or any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States, or do you have membership in or any affiliation with any group, association, or organization which advocates, or tends to result in, the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States? ☒ No ☐ Yes

JURAT (OR OATH).—This jurat (or oath) must be executed.

The following oath must be taken before a notary public, the secretary of a United States civil service board of examiners or other officer authorized to administer oaths, before whom the applicant must appear in person. The following are among those not authorized to administer this oath: Postmasters, Army officers, post-office inspectors, and chief clerks and assistant chief clerks in the Railway Mail Service.

The composition and work in connection with any material required to be submitted for this examination are entirely my own, except where I have given full credit for quoted matter or the collaboration of others by quotation marks and references, and in the composition of the same I have received no assistance except as indicated fully in my explanatory statement.

I, the undersigned, do solemnly swear (OR AFFIRM) that the statements made by me in answer to the foregoing questions are full and true to the best of my knowledge and belief. SO HELP ME GOD.

Charles Krewer
(Signature of applicant)

Subscribed and duly sworn to before me on this 19th day of November, 1911, at city [or town] of New York, and State for Territory or District of New York.

John Doe
(Signature of officer)

15-427

EXPERIENCE

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6: I have had extensive experience in research, both in field methods and responsibility for organization, in various types of problems dealing with consumer and labor problems. This has been coupled with administrative responsibility in originating research and directing staff. (2, 3, 4.)

In addition to my present position which has brought me into contact with a great variety of manufacturing and trading enterprises in the densest industrial region in the United States, I am also presently engaged in writing a history of the theory of war finance and war economics, in connection with my work at the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, where I am now continuing studies of the effects of the AAA program on consumer prices, while the work with the Sugar Section of the AAA involved conducting hearings and research to assist the Secretary of Agriculture in fixing wages under the Jones-Costigan Sugar Act. (5)

Research Division
Office of the Director
Special Studies
Principal Economist, F-6

Specific Duties:

As a Principal Economist acts as a consultant to the Director of Research in special studies concerning various special problems which arise in connection with the operation of price ceilings.

Advises the Director on problems relating to the rationing of consumers' goods, consumption requirements and other problems arising in connection with the control of wholesale and retail prices.

Prepares memoranda and analytical reports concerning the above and other special problems.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you went to NYA, did you not, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get into the NYA, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall the circumstances. I think I heard of the job open, or the new agency opening, and went over and applied for a job.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Kramer, did any member of the Communist Party help you in getting your job at the NYA?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long did you stay with the NYA, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Until 1936.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did you go in 1936?

Mr. KRAMER. To a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, investigating civil liberties.

Mr. MORRIS. That was popularly known as the La Follette Committee, was it not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get into the staff of the La Follette Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe that one of my superiors at the NYA—I don't really recall what the circumstances were, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. This was 1936, was it not, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you cannot recall the circumstances under which you transferred from the NYA to come over and work on the staff of the Senate Subcommittee on Education and Labor? That is your honest testimony, Mr. Kramer.

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no recollection of the circumstances forcing you to switch over? It was an entirely different kind of a job, was it not?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties with the subcommittee?

Mr. KRAMER. Mostly that of a field investigator, and working on reports of the subcommittee, preparing for hearings.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that committee specialize in civil liberties?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to put into the record this article, which relates to many witnesses whom we have had and are going to have. This is an article called Turn the Light on Communism, written by Robert M. La Follette, Jr. Senator La Follette was the chairman of this committee, was he not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, he was.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to read excerpts from the article.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator La Follette, writing in Collier's magazine, February 8, 1947, made the following statements:

I know from firsthand experience that Communist sympathizers have infiltrated into committee staffs on Capitol Hill in Washington. Frequently, they have been associated with desirable legislation and worthy objectives, but always ready to further their own cause at the expense of the legislation they were advocating. A few years ago, when I was chairman of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, I was forced to take measures in an effort to stamp out influence within my own committee staff.

During the late Congress, the staff of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor was infiltrated by fellow travelers. The staff of the Pepper Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education was diligent in its efforts to take matters into its own hands, and probably did great harm to the cause of improved health in this country by its reckless activities.

May the whole article go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. The whole article may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The article referred was marked "Exhibit No. 146" and is as follows:

[From Collier's, February 8, 1947]

TURN THE LIGHT ON COMMUNISM

THE FORMER SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN SPEAKS AS ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST NOTED LIBERALS IN OUTLINING HIS PROGRAM FOR FIGHTING A SERIOUS MENACE

By Robert M. La Follette, Jr.

To what extent has communism developed in America? To what degree does it exercise influence? What can we do about it? Are we as a Nation obligated, in the spirit of freedom, to give free license to Communists in their effort to undermine the democratic process? Can we tolerate abuse of our free institutions by those who have no loyalty toward them? I begin with question which you are asking and I shall try to answer.

In my opinion, Communist and fellow-traveler activities in America have become a serious menace to our democracy. The problem is how to take intelligent action to combat the menace without at the same time impairing civil liberties. The major part of the problem lies in awakening all citizens who honestly believe in democracy to the all-important fact that it is fatal to consort with Communists and their fellow travelers. Association with them in "front" organizations creates a screen of respectability which conceals Communistic activities.

In my long public life I have had frequent clashes with Communists and Communistic ideologies, sometimes on trivial matters, sometimes on matters of principle with far-reaching implications. My own personal experiences with Communists in politics go back to 1924. While organization plans were being laid for my father to run as a candidate for President, it was learned that a Farmer-Labor-Progressive convention was being called to meet in St. Paul on June 17. Many of our political friends were interested in boosting the event as an adjunct to the La Follette campaign.

However, it developed that the convention was a scheme of the Workers (Communist) Party to use the cloak of the local organizations that had naively lent their names and thus to secure a strategic position of control among the liberal elements that had been duped into joining.

The Communist International in Moscow gave specific approval by cablegram which was openly reprinted in the Daily Worker in New York, over the signatures of William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg, chairman and executive secretary, respectively, of the party. It was also ascertained that several avowed Communists had undertaken the organizational work for the convention and had established themselves in control of arrangements, credentials of delegates and funds of the convention.

Thereupon, I urged my father to repudiate in no uncertain terms any connections with the St. Paul meeting and any support from the Communists. I helped draft a letter which was released from Atlantic City on May 26. It contained this warning to liberals: "To pretend that Communists can work with Progressives is to deceive the public. * * * The Communists are antagonistic to the Progressive cause and their only purpose in joining such a movement is to disrupt it. * * * (They) seek to divide, to confuse, and to create chaos favorable to their ultimate aims of revolution."

Events of the past two decades have proved the truth of this warning. For many years, the American people had an indifferent attitude toward the menace of Communism. Perhaps this is partially explained by our tolerant background and free institutions.

This attitude of national indifference was strengthened by extreme reactionaries who made unsupported and false charges of communism against those

who differed with them. Almost every aggressive man in public life has had the charge "Communist" hurled at him.

Like any cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" repeated too often without basis, it had the effect of disarming the people about the dangers inherent in real communistic activities. It is a perfect screen for sinister activities. The words "Redbaiter" and "witch hunt" and "Fascist" became the terse, tart accusations in the Communist-fellow-traveler dialectic toward anyone who tried to peer behind the screen.

PUBLIC ATTITUDE CHANGING

Within the past few months there has been a sudden and dramatic shift in public attitude on this problem. The indifference is gone. Newspapers, periodicals and influential private citizens from coast to coast have echoed and reechoed public concern.

To understand the nature of the problem, it is necessary to keep two factors in mind. First, Communists and fellow travelers have a fanatical loyalty to the Russian Communist party line and to Russia, no matter what flip-flops in reasoning or position are required. They work for anything that will pave the way for the downfall of democracy. The strategy for success in this country is based on the creation of chaos—class conflict, discontent, depression or anything else that will form a frame of reference conducive to revolution.

Second, persons who have embraced this new faith do not fight fair, or in the open. They use the same underground, unscrupulous methods employed by Hitler and Goebbels. All totalitarians, whether of right or left, believe that their own ends justify the use of any means. To obtain their objectives, they resort to the "big lie" and the "big smear." They twist the meaning of words from their common usage in truly democratic countries.

Therefore, those who believe in democracy and human rights must be on the alert as never before. The fight against communism cannot be made by totalitarian methods, because to embrace the doctrine that the end justifies the means inevitably corrupts and undermines those who use it.

The techniques of democracy must and can be used to defeat this menace. The most important is constant vigilance on the part of the voters and the members of every type of organization that's in our society. The spotlight of an aroused public opinion must be focused on their devious activities at all times. There must be no witch hunting but constant exposure. There must be no curtailment of the Bill of Rights nor any effort to curtail free speech, free press, and free assembly. Let the American people know where and how the Communist-fellow-traveler activities are being carried on and they will deal with the problem by democratic means.

Communists are watching and waiting—even hoping—for a severe economic depression in the United States. They believe a serious slump will advance their objective to discredit and overthrow capitalism and democracy. Pravda, the official organ of the Communist Party in Moscow, has predicted a "devastating" capitalistic collapse in America by 1948.

But Communists have not been idle while waiting for economic developments. They have always been noted for aggressive organizational methods. Political campaigns are the starting point for some of the organizers. I know of one small-time party liner who had a part in congressional campaigns in several States and offered his services as manager for no less than three political candidates. He had no qualms about supporting "reactionary" candidates if that gave him his opportunity to get a foothold.

The CIO Political Action Committee prospered in its early years because it was founded on a sound objective: to inform the voters on public issues and the records of candidates. The CIO-PAC failed in the last election wherever it allowed its policies to be influenced by Communists and fellow travelers, with the result that in many communities it became the purveyor of the Communist line.

The CIO-PAC has done damage to American politics on at least two counts. It has sponsored the theory that a Member of Congress who does not give 100 percent approval to their program should be liquidated and is a fair subject for any sort of a smear campaign. The apparent reasoning behind the theory is that even if this course of action finally results in the election of a candidate who is opposed to everything they purport to stand for, it is better than electing one who exercises independent judgment.

Despite the general failure of the PAC, the effectiveness of aggressive organizational methods should not be underestimated. In the Fourth Congressional District in Milwaukee, for example, fellow travelers obtained the Democratic

nomination for one of their friends, Edmund V. Bobrowicz, who was barely defeated in the general election, despite a repudiation of his nomination by prominent Democratic leaders.

WHEN THEY CAME OUT OPENLY

In some States, where the election laws permitted it, the Communists placed their organizations behind candidates who ran frankly under the label of the Communist Party. As might be expected, these candidates without camouflage did not fare well. In fact, in several cases there were unexpected results.

In Bridgeport, Conn., Miss Josephine Willard ran for State representative on the Communist ticket in the State elections on November 5. Miss Willard was editor of the union paper and the publicity director for local 203 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. In the subsequent uprising against Communists in local 203, the paper was discontinued and Miss Willard lost her job.

I know from firsthand experience that Communist sympathizers have infiltrated into committee staffs on Capitol Hill in Washington. Frequently they have been associated with desirable legislation and worthy objectives, but always ready to further their own cause at the expense of the legislation they were advocating. A few years ago, when I was chairman of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, I was forced to take measures in an effort to stamp out influences within my own committee staff.

During the late Congress, the staff of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor was infiltrated by fellow travelers. The staff of the Pepper Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education was diligent in its efforts to take matters into its own hands, and probably did great harm to the cause of improved health in this country by its reckless activities. I was appointed a member of this subcommittee, but I resigned from it later—partially because of the pressure of other duties (the Congressional reorganization bill was taking much of my time) and partially because I did not want to be associated with a program of a staff in whom I could not have complete confidence.

Later, the staff released a report and recommendations on health legislation under highly irregular procedure that prompted severe criticism on the floor of the Senate. The report was a favorable recommendation on a highly controversial national health program. It was released with the implication that it had the approval of the sub and full committees.

Similarly, the Kilgore Subcommittee on War Mobilization (of the Military Affairs Committee) and the Murray Special Committee on Small Business had staffs that many Senators believed had been infiltrated by fellow travelers.

WHY THE SENATE WITHHELD FUNDS

This was one of the major reasons that the Senate was reluctant to provide continued funds for their activities. Privately, many Senators were demanding a house cleaning. Proponents carefully promoted national publicity to the effect that Fascist influences were blocking their worthwhile objectives, but it availed them nothing. Actually a large majority of the Senate probably favored the ostensible objectives of these committees (the examination of monopolies, big-business control, international cartels, etc.). But the Senate was dubious of having this work done under the auspices of the existing staffs.

Another previous action of the Senate was aimed directly at fellow-traveler infiltrations on congressional committee staffs. It was the successful effort of Senator Wherry and others to publicize and curtail the use of borrowed "down-town personnel" from the executive departments in staffing committees.

Naturally, there are many legitimate reasons why at times experts from the executive departments should be available for congressional committee use. But, when Senators felt that it had become the means whereby Communist sympathizers assembled their cohorts and placed them in a position to scheme from the inside on legislative activities, without any direct lines of responsibility to either the Senate or to the Government agency on whose payroll they were carried—then, the Senate curbed the practice.

As a first step, the Senate required all committees to publish regularly in the Congressional Record pertinent information about borrowed personnel. Later, provisions were made requiring committee personnel to be on the congressional payroll. This provided control of funds and a closer check on personnel.

One of the important ways in which fellow travelers on committee staffs have carried on their activities is through the illicit use of committee information. In general, committee staffs participate in executive sessions and have access to committee files, which frequently include private documents which the committee has obtained under subpoena on recommendation of the staff. Unscrupulous employees can give out this information to friends, as a private spying system against their enemies, as an advance tip-off of committee thinking, or as a means of bringing pressure to bear where it might effect a desired course of action.

On several occasions I have had the revealing experience of receiving prompt protests and advice from strange and remote sources the day after I had voiced anti-Communist sentiments or voted contrary to the prevailing Communist Party line in executive sessions that were wholly unreported in the press. Such reactions could not occur without an effective grapevine.

Even more insidious is the practice of coloring the information that is disseminated so that local organizations, party-line newspapers, periodicals, and circular letters can incite and inspire any desired reaction by high-pressure propaganda techniques. This device is most effective under conditions where the legislation or parliamentary situation is highly complex.

Under the Reorganization Act, powers and procedures of committees have been clarified, various records systematized, and lines of authority more firmly established. The reorganized committees will now be in a position to choose their staffs by majority vote and by careful selection they can weed out the Communists and fellow travelers.

With regard to minimum wage and FEPC legislation, it is my personal conviction that the Communists and fellow travelers who lobbied on these bills preferred to get no bills at all. I learned after the completion of the Senate hearings on the minimum wage bill that hearing schedules had been rigged to the end that testimony from anti-Communist sources on the bill was not taken, or else received merely as a statement for the record rather than as testimony before the committee. Committee employees are well aware that testimony and information can be made to appear either important or unimportant depending on how it is released or scheduled.

Illustrative of the unscrupulous tactics of Communists or fellow travelers on legislative matters is a personal incident that happened when this legislation was under consideration. A left-wing official of a left-wing union of Milwaukee issued a carefully prepared statement, purportedly on behalf of the Milwaukee County and the State CIO councils, which declared that any "claim" I might have to being a liberal was "blasted" by my record on minimum-wage and FEPC legislation.

Specifically, the statement charged: (1) that I had voted to include the farm parity rider on the minimum wage bill, (2) that I had voted against labor because I voted on one amendment to reduce from 65 cents to 60 cents the minimum wage figure carried in the bill, and (3) that I "sat idly by" while the FEPC was filibustered to death.

Charge No. 1 was an outright falsehood. I had voted against the parity rider on two different occasions when the amendment was submitted. The falsehood apparently was intended to be used as a "whipsaw": first, to inflame labor, and then after denials and publicity, when the truth had partially caught up with the falsehood, to inflame the farmer on the other side of the fence.

Charge No. 2 was a skillful distortion of fact. It appeared plausible, if no mention were made of the fact that this was a carefully considered compromise on the part of all the genuine proponents of the bill, in an effort to get a measure passed. The Communists wanted no bill. They wanted only an issue to arouse discontent.

Charge No. 3 was without basis. I had given full support to the FEPC legislation and had even voted against displacing it with other business when a cloture vote failed.

This particular incident backfired in part. The national legislative representative of the CIO repudiated the charges and requested the local affiliates in Milwaukee to publish the facts. However, the Communist-dominated Wisconsin CIO News, the official state organ which had splashed the original story on its pages, failed to devote a single line of type in retraction or correction.

CONGRESS TRIES—BUT IN VAIN

The Congress in past years has been pursuing persistent but futile efforts to eliminate disloyal employees from the service. Congress has placed a succession of riders on appropriation bills to bar Communists, all on the mistaken theory that they will graciously identify themselves if asked to do so, or perhaps that they will have a twinge of conscience and refuse to sign a loyalty or no-strike pledge! This is a naive approach.

The difficulties of proving disloyalty charges are great, and the civil rights of employees must be protected from witch hunts. It is clear, however, that the Government has not made very serious efforts to investigate questionable employees. In 1945, when the civil service "suitability" investigations were at a peak, only about 1 person out of every 25 placements was checked. Only 74 persons out of several million placed were declared ineligible on grounds of disloyalty.

In the current fiscal year, the Commission's budget for investigations was cut so drastically that only about 1,500 cases will be investigated. The general need for more investigations is indicated by the size of the so-called "bar" and "flag" files of the Commission, which contain names of persons proved or suspected of disloyalty to the Government. In congressional hearings last year it was reported that these files contained more than 100,000 names. No information has been disclosed as to how many of the suspected cases are in the Federal service.

It is no help to the Federal service that some of the leaders of one of the major unions of Federal workers, the United Public Workers of America, a CIO affiliate, is definitely sympathetic to the Communist Party line. Its president, Abram Flaxer, was one of the three members representing the "left-wing" viewpoint on the special policy committee of CIO President Murray at the Atlantic City convention last November. This union has frequently vacillated in asserting and then renouncing the right to strike against the Government. The "no-strike-against-the-Government" rider on congressional appropriation bills was directed at members of this union.

Any discussion of communism invariably involves organized labor. Fellow travelers have made some of their most successful forays into this segment of society. Often charges of this nature have been made without justification and with the intent to discredit union labor. Yet, to the credit of labor it must be said that many honest and forward-looking labor leaders and unions are themselves endeavoring to expose and destroy this cancerous growth.

Infiltration of organized labor has been a major objective for Communists for several good reasons. First of all, unions are large in membership. If captured, they represent substantial economic and political power. Secondly, communism has an appeal to persons who are dissatisfied with their existing status. Communism makes glowing promises, and also works the other side of the street. Communism deliberately encourages discontentment.

Trade unions are by no means uniformly infested. The infiltration is spotty, varying widely from union to union and from one locality to another.

POLITICS OR PORK CHOPS

A number of the left-wing unions of the CIO are sympathetic to the Communist Party line. The largest of these is the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. Others are Ben Gold's Fur and Leather Workers (he is an avowed Communist); Michael Quill's Transport Workers; Joe Ryan's International Longshoremen (he is not "left" enough to suit many of his membership); Abram Flaxer's United Public Workers; Reid Robinson's Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; the Farm Equipment and Metal Workers; the United Furniture Workers; and the American Communications Association. These, among others, are the CIO unions that are "more interested in politics than in pork chops."

The last national conventions of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations recognized the gravity of the situation and went on record in opposition to communism. The A. F. of L. condemned it as a major threat to freedom. Under threat of resigning his leadership, Phil Murray piloted through the CIO convention, unanimously and without debate, a resent-and-reject resolution. Dissatisfied anti-Communists pointed out that Communists had voted for the resolution, against themselves.

The avowed Communists who acknowledge their affiliations and are out in the open are not the most serious menace to democracy. It is the fellow travelers who are difficult to classify. There is no litmus-paper test for these people.

In any organization it is difficult to know positively which individuals are actually Communists deliberately working undercover, and which individuals are being unwittingly used as window dressing. Actions are more reliable detectors of the real purposes of an organization than verbal protestations or official labels.

The vicious aspect is not that Communists want a drastic change in our political or economic organization. In a free country, Communists, too, are entitled to their opinions. They have the right to try to persuade the majority to adopt their opinions. The vicious aspect is injected with the fanatical doctrine that the end justifies the means; that deceit, disloyalty, trickery, sham—anything goes if it promotes communism.

Suppression is no answer to these tactics. Suppression may involve serious infringements on the civil rights of innocent people. Suppression would only force communism further underground and renew the zeal of fellow travelers. The democratic way is to arouse the membership of all organizations to assert the prerogatives of majority rule against communism. It is a problem that all groups in our society must face.

Liberals must divorce themselves from fellow-traveler elements or they will be discredited and immobilized.

Conservatives cannot afford to be smug with the notion that this is a fight outside of their bailiwick, that any battle on the left wing will redound to their benefit. If our institutions topple from Communist infiltration, they, too, will be ground under the heel of tyranny.

Industry and government have it within their power to minimize the superficial appeal of communism by improving the status of the underprivileged in this country and by showing the people the relative merits of our system of free enterprise, as against any other.

Above all, the spotlight of publicity must continue to shine on the activities of those who are disloyal to the fundamental liberties and freedoms of the individual citizen which our Government was formed to foster and protect.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties with that committee, Mr. Kramer.

Mr. KRAMER. I was a field investigator and helped to prepare for hearings and reports of the subcommittee.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did John Abt help you in getting this job?

Mr. KRAMER. He may have, but I don't know whether he did or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you take shorthand?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, I take shorthand.

Mr. MORRIS. In your capacity of investigator on the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Education, did you investigate the Burns Detective Agency?

Mr. KRAMER. I may have served a subpoena on them. I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. You never conducted an investigation of the agency though, even to the extent of examining its wastepaper baskets?

Mr. KRAMER. I really don't recall. I think we served a subpoena. We may have gotten some wastepaper baskets. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Robert Wohlforth your superior?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; he was the secretary of the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you assigned, together with Mr. Wohlforth, to an investigation of a riot which occurred in Chicago in the Republic Steel Plant on May 30?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who assigned you to this task?

Mr. KRAMER. Senator La Follette, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with this investigation, did you cooperate with members of the Communist Party from Chicago?

Mr. KRAMER. I carried out the investigation. I have no idea of who it was that I interviewed or under what circumstances it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, Mr. Kramer, that you cannot recall working with members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know who the people were with whom I worked on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, in connection with our preceding question about the investigation of the Burns Detective Agency and exploration into the wastepaper baskets, do we have any evidence to the effect that Mr. Kramer did, in fact, engage in such practices?

Mr. MANDEL. I have the proceedings of the La Follette committee, March 8, page 2788, showing the testimony of Mr. Charles Kramer, and this is his testimony in connection with the investigation of the Burns Detective Agency:

Mr. KRAMER. I said we were interested in the waste paper coming from one of his clients' offices, he being the janitor. He said "Well, he did not think that they could very easily locate the waste because it was in about a score or more of huge burlap bags in the basement and meant going through all the bags in the basement." He said, "However, if you would like to do it, go ahead." Then he introduced me to someone. I think he said it was the chief engineer. He asked whether I minded telling which client I was interested in. I said, "Certainly, I don't. It was the Burns Detective Agency."

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember giving that testimony, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. If it is in the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you participate in writing a subcommittee report on the so-called Chicago massacre, in which the subcommittee charged the Chicago police with "excessive force and careless indifference to human life and suffering"?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; I participated in writing that report.

Mr. MORRIS. To what extent did you participate in writing the report?

Mr. KRAMER. As I recall, the report was a fairly complete one, and all the members of the staff who had worked on the investigation each took a section of it and wrote some preliminary review of it for the inspection of the Senators.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work with a David J. Bentall, B-e-n-t-a-l-l, in Chicago, in connection with that investigation?

Mr. KRAMER. I recall no such name.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the other following individuals in connection with this riot: Joe Weber—did you ever meet Joe Weber in Chicago?

Mr. KRAMER. I may have, sir; I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Nick Fontecchio, F-o-n-t-e-c-c-h-i-o?

Mr. KRAMER. That name sounds familiar but I don't recall now.

Mr. MORRIS. Jack Spiegel, S-p-i-e-g-e-l?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no recollection.

Mr. MORRIS. A man named Lupe Marshall?

Mr. KRAMER. I recall no such name.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that these people have been identified by the Chicago police as Chicago Communists that participated in demonstrations out there?

Mr. Mandel, do we have anything to show that?

The CHAIRMAN. What was the answer?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know what the identification was. Incidentally, you said Luke Marshall or Lupe?

Mr. MORRIS. That is a woman, I made a mistake.

Mr. KRAMER. She was one of the witnesses before the subcommittee at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do you have anything from the Chicago Police to indicate their attitude toward these people?

Mr. MANDEL. I have a letter from the Chicago Police signed by John T. O'Malley, addressed to me as research director.

Reference your phone call, wire and letter, activity, steel strike 1937. one paragraph reads as follows:

Our records show that one Joe Weber and Lupe Marshall, who are known Communists, were taken into custody on May 30, 1937, and charged with violation of section 139 of chapter 38. Our records further show that Nick Fontecchio, George Patterson, and Jack Spiegle are also known organizers or are affiliated with organizations of Communist activities.

Mr. MORRIS. You say Lupe Marshall did testify as a witness before the committee?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe so.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with Lupe Marshall in Chicago?

Mr. KRAMER. I met with most of the witnesses, and so did the other members of the staff, yes. I don't know whether specifically I met with her or not. I am pretty sure that I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Kramer, you did meet with Communists in Chicago at that time, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I told you that I met with any number of people, including members of the police department and the sheriff's office, and various law enforcement officers. Who they were and what they were, I have no idea. I was investigating a specific circumstance.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you did not meet with people you knew to be Communists?

Mr. KRAMER. My testimony is exactly as I stated, that I met with people who came into the course of the investigation.

Mr. MORRIS. I am asking the question: To your knowledge, were those people members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no idea? What role did John Abt have in this particular investigation of the Chicago demonstration?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, he didn't conduct the investigation. That was under Mr. Wohlforth. He was counsel of the committee at the time, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was Charles Flato on that committee at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Benjamin Allen on the committee?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall whether he was at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Leigh Athearn, A-t-h-e-a-r-n?

Mr. KRAMER. I frankly don't recall whether he was on it at that time or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Jack B. Burke?

Mr. KRAMER. I think Burke was on the committee at the time, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Robert K. Lamb?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't believe he was on at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Luke Wilson?

Mr. KRAMER. He was a member at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Daniel F. Margolies?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; he was a member of the staff at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. Max Lowenthal?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't believe he was a member of the staff at all.

Mr. MORRIS. "At all," did you say?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first know Max Lowenthal?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, give us a general idea, will you, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Some time while I was working in the Senate.

Mr. MORRIS. Some time when you were working on this subcommittee?

Mr. KRAMER. Frankly, I don't recall whether it was at this time or later. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Lucien Hilmer?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't really know whether he was a member of the subcommittee staff at that time or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Allen Sayler, S-a-y-l-e-r?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he was a member of the staff at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. David Demarest Lloyd?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he was a member of the staff at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put into the record at this time a report of the Secretary of the Senate which indicates some trips made by this particular witness in connection with his duties. May the whole thing go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record.

(The report referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 147" and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 147

STAFF NOTATIONS FROM REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, 1937

Page 219: Abt phones Detroit, March 13, 1937.

Page 224: Bertram Edises, a La Follette investigator, also Allan Rosenberg, Luke Wilson. Constant trips to Pittsburgh.

Page 232: March 27, 1937—Abt New York trip—Allen to Kentucky and Tennessee—Kramer to Akron—David Lloyd, Jack Burke on La Follette staff.

Pages 234-235: Daniel Margolies to New York for La Follette—Wohlforth to Pittsburgh and Kentucky, March 1, 1931. Margaret Bennett on I. C. C. Committee.

Pages 246-247: Max Lowenthal and Telford Taylor on Senate Interstate Commerce Committee.

Page 249: Abt, Benjamin Allen, Jack Burke, on Civil Liberties Committee. Burke to Harlan County, Cincinnati, March 22—April 17.

Page 250: Kramer to Anderson, Ind., and Detroit, April 2-9. Ehrlich to Kentucky, March 22—April 3.

Page 252: Wohlforth to Detroit and Kentucky, March 11—April 23.

Page 256: Robert Sher and Wohlforth to Detroit, April 7, 1937. Rosenberg gets 11 days subsistence but doesn't say where he went, March 24—April 3. Wilson drives to Detroit and Lansing, April 13-23.

Page 258: Harold Crane field to Detroit, Pontiac, Lansing, Toledo, August 29-Nov. 30, 1936. Disbursement May 3, 1937.

Page 273: Allen to Pittsburgh, May 12, 1937. Burke to Detroit, Dearborn, etc., May 11-31.

Pages 274-275: Robert Ehrlich to Detroit, Lansing, Toledo, Pittsburgh, April 19-May 18. Kramer to Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, April 21-May 20.

Page 276: Sher to Detroit, May 10-22.

Page 301: Abt to Chicago, June 14-20. Allen to Detroit, May 31—June 30.

Pages 302-303: Burke to Detroit, Flint, Toledo, Dearborn, etc., May 21—June 22. Ehrlich to Detroit, May 24—June 11. Kramer to Minneapolis, Chicago, June 14-20, "developing films," June 17.

Pages 304-305: Sher to Chicago, June 16-20. Wilson to Detroit, June 4-11. Wohlforth to Chicago, June 12-30, "transporting movie apparatus."

Mr. MORRIS. Did you develop films at that time in connection with this demonstration?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not develop films?

Mr. KRAMER. Are you referring to the Paramount News film that was shown?

Mr. MORRIS. You arranged to have films taken of the demonstration, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. No; we arrived on the scene, or were sent in by the Senator, after this thing had taken place. There was a Paramount News reel which had been taken of the demonstration and the Paramount News reel was made available to the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you read the excerpt into the record relating to Mr. Kramer's trips to Minneapolis and Chicago.

Mr. MANDEL. This is from the report of the Secretary of the Senate, 1937, page 274 and page 275.

Kramer to Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, April 21-May 20.
then on pages 302 and 303:

Kramer to Minneapolis, Chicago, June 14-20, "Developing films," June 17.

Mr. MORRIS. Apparently the Secretary of the Senate recorded that as one of the purposes of the trip, Mr. Kramer.

Mr. KRAMER. That is an expense item, isn't it? The expense item is undoubtedly that of trying to pay for the Paramount copy of the newsreel film, which I had to pay out of my pocket and asked the Secretary of the Senate to reimburse me. It is a normal procedure.

Mr. MORRIS. When in Chicago, did you ever meet a man named Morris Childs?

Mr. KRAMER. To the best of my recollection, I have no recollection of meeting with such a person. I must say to you now that you are asking me about a lot of people with whom I met some 17 or 16 years ago, and I literally met during that period with hundreds and more than hundreds of people, including some 200 members of the Chicago Police Department, with whom we talked. I don't know the names of them at this time, certainly.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kramer, were you a Communist at this time.

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer, on the same grounds that I previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have the report of the Chicago Police?

Are you acquainted with the report that the Chicago Police handed down on the basis of the demonstration held in Chicago?

Mr. KRAMER. I am acquainted with several reports of the Chicago Police, some of which they made to us, as members of the staff; some of them they made in courts of law; some of them were quite contrary to each other.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember one from William V. Daly, made to the Honorable James Hamilton Lewis, United States Senate, July 22, 1937?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall it specifically.

Mr. MORRIS. Placing the responsibility on the rioters and the Communist demonstrators?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall that report, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. But you do know that the Chicago Police contended that the riots were the results of Communist demonstrations, do you not?

of William V. Daly, the Assistant Corporation Counsel for Chicago. Police and the Chicago prosecution and city in defending themselves in suits against this thing took exactly the reverse position.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Shortly thereafter.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the report of the Senate committee came to what conclusion, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall. The contents of the report speak for themselves, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, might I put into the record the report of William V. Daly, the Assistant Corporation Counsel for Chicago, to the Honorable James Hamilton Lewis, of the United States Senate, dated July 22, 1937? May that go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The report referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 148" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 148

HEARINGS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR: VIOLATIONS OF FREE SPEECH AND RIGHTS OF LABOR, CHICAGO MEMORIAL DAY INCIDENT

DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED BY THE CITY OF CHICAGO—EXHIBIT 3511

CITY OF CHICAGO,
DEPARTMENT OF LAW,
July 22, 1937.

HON. JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS,
United States Senat^s, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: According to press reports the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor submitted a report to the United States Senate relative to the Memorial Day riot at South Chicago, Ill., wherein various charges are made against the police department.

If the press reports are correct, this report was made before all the evidence was in. The subcommittee had requested the police department to forward certain documentary evidence which the police department is assembling, together with certain other evidence of impartial observers.

According to the press reports, the police were accused of "excessive force and careless indifference to human life and suffering." These are serious charges to be made by a deliberative body and such a report in the spirit of fair play should not have been made until all the evidence had been adduced and all the parties in interest having been given their day in court. This is a code which is expected of all sportsmen.

The subcommittee asked for information concerning several men who, from the pictures, it appeared carried clubs other than regulation clubs. We have the verified statements of witnesses, both from the police department and impartial observers, that axehandles and pickhandles were carried by members of the rioters while the police were armed solely with regulation batons which are very light clubs, with the exception of three or four plainclothes men who carried no regulation club, but upon marching out to meet the mob, picked up the first available stick that could be found. After the battle started police officers' batons were broken and knocked from their hands and in a few instances they picked up a club which was discarded by the mob or that was wrested from the hands of members of the mob in the ensuing struggle. Isolated incidents like these have been stressed by the subcommittee.

Evidently to support the charge of careless indifference to the wounded they refer to the fact that only five patrol wagons were available to care for the injured. However, the police did not expect that a riot of this kind would result. They had all the patrol wagons that were available from the districts surround

ing the vicinity of the riot. These patrol wagons could make several trips to nearby hospitals before additional wagons could be secured from remote districts.

What the subcommittee fails to take into account is that the police had a legal right to be where they were; that under the law a policeman is not required to withdraw but may stand his ground; on the contrary it was the duty of the mob to disperse when ordered to do so.

The witnesses who appeared before the subcommittee, on behalf of the rioters, have attempted to exonerate the members of the mob while condemning the police. It was their contention that the sole purpose of the gathering of the mob was so peacefully picket the plant of the Republic Steel Co. in spite of the fact that the mob numbered by conservative estimates over 2,000 and that the said mob was armed with clubs, slingshots, iron bars and in at least several instances with firearms.

From a description of the instruments carried by the rioters considerable preparation had been made in fashioning them; for example, there were clubs with razor blades and meathooks nailed to them. They also had improvised ambulances and a first-aid station to take care of any of their members who might be wounded in the affray which they evidently expected. They also had doctors on the ground. This testimony is not seriously contradicted.

The rioters' witnesses under sympathetic questioning by the subcommittee claim they were in a holiday spirit and were not armed although pictures of the press show the contrary. No opportunity was afforded the police to cross-examine witnesses for the rioters. The police were not given the privilege of volunteering favorable testimony.

We also have in our possession a secret report made to the general staff, by a representative of the National Guard of this State who had an observer present at the meeting that preceded this riot, a copy of which report I am forwarding to you, together with a letter of General Keehn which is self-explanatory. The National Guard observer took pictures of rioters while they were being addressed by speakers, who while careful in the use of language so that the actual words might not be deemed seditious or illegal, the gestures, mannerisms and inflections of voices were so staged that they were calculated to be inflammatory and did, in fact, arouse the passions of many of the listeners. These pictures also portrayed rioters marching out from their headquarters to meet the police so armed with murderous weapons yet the witnesses for the rioters contended their object was peaceful picketing. These pictures and report are vital to the defense of the police against the unwarranted accusations which were made against them. However, it is not advisable that men who are engaged in subversive activities against the Government should be apprised of the source of this report as the efforts of the military authorities would in the future be seriously impeded.

We are, therefore, asking the good office of yourself and Senator Dietrich to see that this evidence is presented to the committee or the Senate in such a manner that the source of the same will not be revealed to the general public.

The coroner's jury of Cook County, a tribunal charged by law with fixing the responsibility and the cause of death, made an exhaustive investigation and held the police justified in the matter.

Editorials published in the Daily News and Tribune, copies of which I am enclosing, very well state the position of the police of the city of Chicago and the people of this city who are behind them.

The evidence shows that the constitutional guarantee of free speech or the right of assembly has not been interfered with by the police. The constitution does not guarantee to anyone the right to assemble or the right to speak on the private property of another, nor does it give them the right to use public property for this purpose as such a use might be inconsistent with the purposes for which the property was intended. There are numerous Federal and State decisions on this point. Neither the right to picket nor the provisions of the Wagner Act or other Federal statutes have in any way been violated. On the day of the riot approximately 40 pickets were patrolling in front of the gate of the Republic Steel Co. plant. When the police marched out to meet the rioters these men were still picketing and continued to do so during the riot and were still patrolling the premises of the Republic Steel Co. after the riot was over. At no time was there any trouble with pickets; on the contrary, the relationship between the pickets and the police were amicable.

We know that you are interested in defending the good reputation of 6,000 members of the Police Department of the city of Chicago. Every opportunity should be afforded the police to present evidence, to abstract the testimony after same is printed and to file a brief before this matter is finally disposed

of by the Senate. Report of the coroner's jury should also be filed which will not be available for 10 days.

We are also forwarding under separate cover other documentary evidence viz., statements of rioters taken by police and affidavits of other witnesses, which we desire to have you present to the committee or the Senate for this evidence is relevant and material.

We respectfully call your attention to affidavits filed by us on July 1 before the Senate committee and marked by the Senate reporter "Exhibits 1370 to 1395, inclusive"; also the additional affidavits of police officers, newspaper pictures and sections of the Illinois statutes which were filed before the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads on June 24, 1937 and appear in the record printed for use of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads on pages 262 to 281, inclusive.

The Civil Liberties Committee was to consider the evidence presented to the Post Offices and Post Roads Committee.

Thanking you for your assistance in this matter, I am,

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM V. DALY,
Assistant Corporation Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have a copy of the report on the Committee on Education and Labor?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. May that go into the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator JENNER. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The report referred to was marked exhibit No. 149 and was filed in the committee files.)

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Jan Wittenber, W-i-t-t-e-n-b-e-r?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no recollection of that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no recollection of such a man?

Mr. Mandel, do we have anything in the record showing the role of Jan Wittenber in this particular demonstration?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a photostat of the issue of July 1937 of the Labor Defender, which is the official organ of the International Labor Defense, an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General. This article is headlined as follows:

Keep up your fight, ILD. What the ILD did in Chicago in solidarity with the strikers and in consolidation with the CIO, by Jan Wittenber.

And I quote from the article on page 7:

Prompt action on the part of our ILD observers, following the first attack on May 28 has played a most vital role in the development of the mass action that took place after Memorial Sunday. We took the precaution of making a movie record of the slugging in May 28. Telegrams of protest were sent to the La Follette committee that evening.

And further:

That evening telegrams were sent again to the La Follette committee as well as to all progressive Senators and Congressmen.

On Tuesday morning a communication was received from the La Follette committee accepting our ILD film and affidavits. A preview of our film was shown to the La Follette committee and they were greatly impressed, and asked us to make a duplicate film.

At the same time we entrusted to their care and for their use our complete files. On June 3, one of our members discovered the name of the Paramount cameraman and this was again communicated to the La Follette committee, urging that they subpoena the film.

Immediate response was forthcoming.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I think it was apparent that that showed there that Communists were the source for the films and for files of

the particular Senate committee staff at that time, and, as I say, if you will notice, Mr. Kramer has acknowledged that he purchased the films.

Mr. KRAMER. Purchased what films, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. The Paramount films.

Mr. KRAMER. I did not say that I purchased a Paramount film.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do?

Mr. KRAMER. You asked me to explain.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to have you.

Mr. KRAMER. Just a minute. You asked me to explain the notation in the record of the Secretary of the Senate about films. I told you that, as far as I can recall, there was a Paramount News film taken of the particular demonstration.

As I recall also, we probably, the staff members got another copy of that film made and paid for it. We certainly paid for the rental of a moveola and other movie equipment to view these films, and that is as far as I know about anything about films involved in this particular demonstration which took place, incidentally, on Memorial Day, not on May 28.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you know the International Labor Defense, do you not, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I have heard of it.

Mr. MORRIS. You know more than that—you are well acquainted with it, are you not?

Mr. KRAMER. No; I am not well acquainted. I said I have heard of it.

Mr. MORRIS. You know it is a Communist organization, do you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. That is, on the grounds that your answer may incriminate you?

Mr. KRAMER. It might tend to.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have any Daily Worker articles which gave reports of this particular Chicago demonstration?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes; we have.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you read the headlines of those articles into the record?

Mr. MANDEL. Daily Worker of May 31, 1937, pages 1 and 3:

Chicago police kill 4 pickets, 100 wounded at Republic Steel. Before they marched the strikers were addressed by Nicholas Fontacchio.

Page 3:

Chicago Communist Party urges citywide protest denouncing the blood bath at Republic Steel plant as one of the worst police outrages in recent history. Morris Childs, secretary of the Communist Party, called all workers to join the spirit of CIO in citywide protest.

June 1, 1937, page 3:

Chicago testing grounds for American fascism.

June 3, 1937, page 3:

Chicago steel strikers' wives did great first aid work after attack.

The page shows a special issue of the Daily Worker, issued in Chicago at that time. June 10, 1937, page 2:

James W. Ford, Negro Communist Party leader, spoke to 3,000 people in Ashland Auditorium.

Also described a massacre at the Republic plant in South Chicago. Morris Childs, presiding, praised the Chicago Communists for their tremendous and successful work in the last few weeks.

Mr. MORRIS. As a matter of fact, did not the steel workers union dismiss from the union subsequently the leading demonstrators in that performance?

Mr. MANDEL. I received information from the steel workers union that those responsible for the violence which was inimical to the interests of the labor movement were subsequently dropped from the administration of that union by the national union itself.

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes?

Mr. KRAMER. I missed one thing in what you said. Did you order that the report of the subcommittee be entered in the record, because I think, in view of what you are saying here, about the nature of the investigation and the nature of the events, that in all fairness, the report prepared and supervised and endorsed by two Senators of the United States, concerning the events of that day should be in the record to speak for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been made part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. That part of the report relating to the Chicago demonstration.

Mr. KRAMER. There is a report that deals with the entire Chicago Memorial Day incident, sir. The entire report, it seems to me, should be part of the record, because it deals with the testimony of the Chicago police officials at the time and was a fair and comprehensive report.

Mr. MORRIS. Is this the report that you refer to, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I can't see it from here, certainly.

(Document handed to witness's counsel and to the witness.)

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; this is the report of the Chicago Memorial Day incident.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Meyer Levine?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; I know him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he participate and help you in that report?

Mr. KRAMER. In the preparation of the report?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. KRAMER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. He testified, did he not?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he was one of the witnesses.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, to your Knowledge, was he a Communist at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no knowledge.

Mr. Mandel, did Mr. Meyer Levine subsequently write an article on this demonstration?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here an article which appeared in the Labor Defender for July 1937, by Meyer Levine, in which he supported the rioters. Subsequently Meyer Levine wrote a book entitled "Citizens." This was in 1940, and I read three short excerpts from this book:

The whole attack, police have learned, was under the leadership of known Communists, who had seized control of this union. Strikers had been drilling all week in secret. Communist Judas had been placed into the mob to lead the attack (p. 87 of his book).

Page 490:

Each time the Communist zealots were more and more obviously in charge. No one bothered any more to keep them from selling their literature in the halls. Sure, they were the only ones who would do the work and arrange the meetings, but were the meetings of any use except for them? (that is p. 491).

Mr. KRAMER. That is quoted from what, by the way?

Mr. MORRIS. That is Meyer Levine's novel *Citizens*.

Mr. KRAMER. It is a novel.

Mr. MORRIS. He wrote that in 1940, and you will notice that in 1937 he wrote about the demonstration for ILD, International Labor Defenders, and was presumably in sympathy with the strikers.

Mr. FORER. I happen to have read the book some years ago, but the book was very sympathetic to the strikers, and that first passage that Mr. Mandel read was ironic. It is, as I remember, a naturalistic treatment, and says "The newspapers said" and so on. If you read the book, you will see that Mr. Levine wasn't saying this was some bad thing by the strikers.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you subsequent to the hearing point out the passages that you would like to put in the record?

Mr. FORER. Could you lend it to me for a few days?

Mr. MORRIS. If you think Mr. Mandel has taken that out of context.

Mr. FORER. I am sure he has. Can you lend me the book for a few days to read?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

(Book handed to counsel for witness.)

(The excerpt requested by Mr. Forer was marked "Exhibit No. 150" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 150

CITIZENS

By Meyer Levin

(pp. 48-58)

As Mitch Wilner watched the parade get going his apprehension lifted. It was just the Fourth of July, just people walking; there was a huge bearish-looking man, Lithuanian or something, riding his kid on his shoulder; there came a cluster of fellows with signs on sticks, some of them he had seen back there in the yard; one was dragging a baseball bat. And not far behind was a group of older men laughing and talking Polish; and walking along in the procession he spotted two little people, a fellow and a girl, walking hand in hand with their faces serious, exactly like drawings of workers in the New Masses, you didn't think they actually existed just like that; then came a cluster of housewives in cotton dresses; and, scattered through, more of the fellows carrying signs. As the column lengthened it fanned out until it had no form at all, and reminded him, incongruously, of the field following golfers.

Fellows with white paper armbands walked alongside the column, trying to keep it in shape. "Close in; get in line," they repeated, but folks paid no attention, seemingly undecided whether they were a part of the march, or simply spectators; like himself, Wilner noticed, they walked alongside rather than in the parade. As another group of men, obviously strikers, passed him, he saw one fellow stoop and pick up a stone, and heft it. One of the armbanded boys said, half-grinning: "Now, no rough stuff," and the lad with the stone grinned back, but kept the stone.

The buildings petered off; there was one block of open prairie, ending at tracks. Here the column made a right turn, and Mitch saw the factory layout.

Beyond the tracks, on a lip curving into the lake, was the steel plant. The mass of buildings with long high windowless walls and peaked roofs, the batches of smokestacks, stood cut out against lake and sky, there came to him, momentarily, the same sense of inexcusable ignorance he had often felt on driving past

such plants, or past oil refineries: how could a man remain so ignorant of these processes that were fundamental to his civilization? He had passed his life within a few miles of all these things, but did not know what the shapes of the buildings held. Why were those smokestacks ranged in series of seven? There must be a purpose to that. And what were the tall pipe-entangled structures? And what did the men do in these places? Exactly what were their jobs? What was the work of a steelworker? He had only a vague picture-idea, from the work "puddlers," of giant-muscled men half naked in front of fierce open furnaces, maybe sticking rods into those furnaces and stirring the living molten steel.

The road now ran parallel with the railway tracks, and on these tracks, between the marchers and the steel plant, stood long lines of boxcars. Evidently they were marching toward a track-crossing that led to the plant gate.

They got machine guns in those boxcars, a fellow in the crowd said.

They got machine guns on the roofs.

You know that watertank in the yard? Where they put up the big searchlight? They got guns in there.

Mitch Wilner glanced at the solid double line of boxcars, like a Chinese wall protecting the plant. It was not difficult to imagine men and guns materializing in the gaping black doorways of the cars.

From spots in the crowd, Mitch heard attempts at singing; they were singing "Solidarity," but the song stumbled and faded out; they were not marching to rhythm. A few voices carried the words on awhile, as if singing for themselves rather than in a crowd.

Now they saw the police.

Where tracks and the road took a slight curve, the police line cut the road. It was not yet the entrance to the plant, for the main buildings and a huge sign, "Consolidated Steel Corporation," could be made out, at least two blocks behind the police line.

All had known the police were waiting. All had seen, vaguely, blue forms in the distance, motorcycles and police cars buzzing on the roads. But now the moment of encounter brought a sharp focus. The police were stationed like a company of soldiers in pictures of oldtime wars, soldiers lined up to charge. And behind them their wheeled paraphernalia stood like cannon backing the line of soldiers.

The marchers slackened, the pace became sluggish, and then the flagbearers halted. They were perhaps a hundred yards from the police; the white road between them vibrated in the direct rays of the sun.

The halt did not seem one of confusion. There was an odd sense of intention, of design in all that happened. The straggling column consolidated, as those behind pressed forward, then, further compressed, the column distended and overflowed on both sides of the road. On the left, the police line ended at some scattered houses. On the right were the railroad and the plant. The police moved quickly, paralleling the expanding front of the marchers. Pairs of police ran, leaping across railway tracks, until their line reached the boxcars.

The flagbearers still waited. A discussion seemed to be going on between leaders. Mitch noticed the burnt-faced man shaking his head, while that excited, stubby fellow, Mike Sisto, gesticulated toward the boxcars. A couple of the men with white armbands took part in the discussion. But none of the people who had seemed to be in charge, in the headquarters, were up in front; neither Kiley, nor Sobol, nor Carl Gaul.

Now a decision seemed to have been reached. The fellows with white armbands scattered over the field calling people back into line.

All waited. Behind the police line, on the porches of houses, photographers scrambled, climbing on railings to take vantage-point pictures. Next to a patrol wagon the newsreel truck stood, and the photographer on the roof of the truck buzzed his camera.

"Look, the bitchn finks."

There, on the low sloping roof of one of the plant buildings, as on sloping bleachers, the scabs were assembled, squatting or standing, perhaps a few hundred men altogether, viewing the scene, just like grandstanders at a Fourth of July parade. Muttering and cursing rose all along the line now; Mitch saw more fellows stoop and pick up rocks. But it was a far throw.

The flagbearers began to walk again, and the crowd behind them walked, a strange, deliberate, silent walk across the remaining hundred paces of no man's land, a testing walk, as if at each step the ground might give way underneath. The police shifted on their feet, nervously. The white strip of road was eaten, step by step. Then police and strikers stood breathing close, face to face.

And nothing happened. Like throwing a switch when one is fearful of a fuse blowing; but the connection takes place without explosion. They stood, the crowd, the cops, all motionless. Mitch Wilner wove through the crowd, edged up toward the front. The people in the frontlines were talking to the cops. "Let us through, why can't we go through, we got a right. Just to the gate, to picket there." The cops were shaking their heads, some grinning, some bored. There was the burnt-faced fellow, and a woman with him, evidently his wife, quite a good-looking young woman, gesticulating, pointing toward the gate. And in the crowd Mitch saw a fellow whom he had known in the old days, one of the old West Side bunch, Sam Eisen. What was he doing here? Sam was a lawyer now, supposed to be a radical or something. The burnt-faced fellow turned around toward the crowd now, with his arm raised, as though counseling patience.

Whole minutes passed. Nothing would happen. The crowd would turn back. Having demonstrated its will, and its control, it would turn back.

Mitch edged still further toward the houses, and there where the column thinned he came into the very frontline. He was within arm's length—clubbing length, he realized—of the facing policemen. At that moment an officer of some sort, captain he guessed, came up behind the police. He was old, with a large seamed face, protruding half-closed eyelids, and an almost catatonic rigidity of expression.

In an automatic voice such as bailiffs use in administering courtroom oaths, he recited off: " * * * Order you in the name of the State of Illinois to disperse and go home * * *" a formula. His voice was low, careless. Directly behind Mitch people were asking: "What did he say?" Others called: "Let us through; come on, give us a break. The mayor said—"

The officer turned and walked back behind his police.

Mitch Wilner was seized with apprehension. Why had the officer recited that rigmarole? Without even raising his voice. Simply as though he were complying to a formula before—

Yes, something would come, now. They had better turn back. He felt an urge to shout: Back, back, better go back before they * * * To jump up on something and shout: "Go back."

Then he turned, retreating into the crowd, not only to feel people between himself and the police, but with the thought that those immediately around him might turn as he had turned, and that there might be a turning movement in the crowd.

And at the same time he told himself he was being foolish, panicky; here strikers and police had stood face to face for longer than 5 minutes; all were controlled. He was well among the people now, in the thick. He heard a firecracker pop; and an instant later, a series of firecrackers, like the string of fireworks Mort had let off on the beach. Mitch looked up into the air and saw a missile, a rock perhaps, flying over the police line. Now it will start, he reflected, with fearing, sinking heart; and only then realized that everyone was running, he too was running back down the road. He halted and looked around.

A cloud of smoke rose lazily like a great cigar puff, lifting upward in the clear still air. That must be tear gas. There was another rattle of explosions. Maybe shooting blanks into the air.

"They're shooting real bullets," a woman cried, running; and all around him the same words echoed, uttered with surprise, as if for corroboration. "They're shooting real bullets." Mitch remained standing, as if his standing still there would prove that the police were not actually firing bullets into the crowd; that could not be. Then he saw a man in a blue workshirt, running toward him, cast himself on the ground, exactly like some soldier in a war movie. Or had the man fallen? Wilner realized he had started to run again, and halted now to go back and look at that man, but the crowd swirled him, and a heavy, bareheaded man with his arm across his eyes blocked his way. This man was staggering. "Don't worry, just tear gas, no permanent effect," Mitch said, turning the blinded man and heading him down the road. "You'll be okay in a couple of hours."

"Shooting," the man mumbled, stumbling on his way.

He ought not to stand here. They'd need him at headquarters. Mitch turned once more for a last look, to convince himself that what was happening was happening. The gas cloud had stretched out sausageshape and was lifting, thinning like torn gauze; through this, he could see the blue line of police approaching. Again, he was possessed by a sense of unreality. This was all like a scene for a movie, yes, or some act in an arena; all staged like a football game, a mimic war; there sat the bleachers crowd; and there movie cameras turned.

He ran from the advancing police. Alongside him as he ran, Mitch saw the huge Lithuanian, with the kid holding his hand running; and he reassured himself that Syl and the kids must have stayed in the car, or certainly could not have come out very far toward the police, and must have run back when the trouble started. The Lithuanian's kid halted, lifting one foot as though he had stepped on a thistle. "Pa, I'm shot," the kid said. The Lithuanian swooped and picked up the child, running on, as the blood from the boy's foot trickled down his shirt.

Now a car came toward them, cutting through the crowd. Mitch noticed the Red Cross sign stuck under the windshield wiper. He jumped on the running board. Carl Gaul was driving, accompanied by some fellow he didn't know. "Shooting," Mitch cried. "Must be some fallen up there."

Carl nodded. "We heard it."

The gas cloud had practically disintegrated, the air clearing as the mind clears after a wild, confusing deed. They saw the police come to a halt, drawing together in a sort of line, except for a cop here and there chasing a last fleeing striker. One they saw hurl his club after a man who escaped him, and stand laughing as the club conked; the fugitive jerked, stumbled a few steps, then, regaining his balance, ran on, his hand awkwardly feeling for the back of his skull.

But mostly the cops were standing still now, looking around them in half-dazed victory, approaching each other with words. Mitch saw forms flat or huddled on the street and on the prairie. Police bent over the forms, prodded, clubbed. Further back, where the line of encounter had been, there was still a pile-up of people, and cops were pulling at arms and legs, whacking at figures that disentangled themselves and scrambled on all fours, skitterwise, to escape. They seized many. Always two cops working together, never a cop alone, pulling a man to his feet and shoving him to and into the patrol wagon. At last the piled group was dissolved, and only the collapsed wounded lay on that spot, like an evaporation residue.

As Carl brought the car to a stop, four policemen hustled toward it.

"Get the hell!"—one of the cops began.

Another scratched his ear. "Sonsabitches. All set with their own ambulance."

Carl jumped out. "Let us pick up these wounded, officer," he said. "We've got a first-aid station back there. These people need immediate attention. This man is a doctor."

As Mitch wore coat and tie, the cops, momentarily, seemed impressed by his appearance. He hurried to the nearest fallen figure. It was a young, husky fellow, who was just trying to turn himself over as Mitch reached him.

"Get hit?" Mitch asked.

"They shot me," the fellow said, wonderingly. His hand moved toward his middle. Mitch opened the shirt and saw a dark hole, like a cigar burn, directly over the navel. It looked so simple and clean. The full danger formed in his mind: abdominal, probably die. He turned the fellow on his side; there was blood enough where he had lain, on his back. The bullet had entered just above the rump, to the right; probably torn kidney and intestinal punctures. "Help me get this fellow into the car," he called. And as people will when directly ordered, two of the police came over and stooped to lift the wounded man. But seeing police, the striker pushed himself to his feet and, leaning on Mitch and Carl, stumbled toward the car, half falling across the back seat. The police watched, their expressions startlingly contrasted: the one deepening with shame, the other swelling to rage.

Another car had come up driven by the dude Art. And immediately afterward there came a big maroon sedan, driven by Jock Kiley. Many of the wounded were hoisting themselves, stumbling to the rescue cars. Mitch hurried toward another sprawled figure, but already with the feeling that it was hopeless; what could he possibly do for all these gunshot wounded, and after them the broken heads, fractures, concussions. Confronted with so much, he could touch nothing, nothing at all. Instead of being here on the field, shouldn't he be back there in headquarters where he had a few bandages? But no; his first job was to sort, to find the worst bleeders, and the abdominals; to check the true emergencies. This one on the ground was unconscious, with blood welling from under his scalp and matting his hair. But no gun wound. Calling to Carl and the others to take the man, Mitch hurried on, examining the fallen. A few yards away he saw Kiley and a white-haired but spry-looking man working over a bleeder. They had a man whose femoral artery severed, for blood was geysering through a rent in his trouser leg. The white-haired fellow had pulled off the

wounded man's belt and was strapping it around the leg, above the wound, to make a tourniquet. Mitch went to help them. "That's right," he approved the man's nice, quick movements. "But wait a second." He picked up a small flat stone and wedged it under the belt, so as to press against the artery. The bleeding was shut off.

"Cradle," he said, clasping the wrist of the white-haired man; he felt a powerful counterclasp on his own wrist, and then the heavy drop of the wounded man's arm on his shoulder. They lifted, attempting to cradle-carry him to the car. He was not tall, but hugely thick in the shoulders, and great-chested, a man of about 200 pounds. Mitch staggered. "Lemme have him, Doc." Kiley slipped his hands under theirs, and the three of them carried the wounded man.

"Know him?" the white-haired helper asked.

Kiley shook his head. The man was muttering its name over for them: "Dombrowsky, Stanley Dombrowsky, me."

They got him into Kiley's car. Dazed, the wounded man felt for the back of his head; he had been clubbed, too. Mitch glanced at the tourniquet. "Ought to hold till you get him there," he surmised, and hurried out onto the field again.

But a pair of cops came charging toward him; the shorter of them, a bull-like man with a blazing red face, cursing in a kind of apoplectic frenzy, and brandishing a long stick, longer than a police club. The end of the stick was bloody. "Get the hell off this field before I run you in."

"These people need emergency care," Mitch said. "I'm a doctor."

"They'll get all the goddam care they need. They're all under arrest. Now you get the hell off this field."

Mitch backed away, as from a crazed beast. The man seemed out of his senses, possessed by an elation of violence.

Carl Gaul had filled his car with wounded, and turned it around. "Coming, Doc?" he called; and Mitch hopped on the running board. The maddened policeman stared at the car, rushed it as it drove off. Mitch saw him halt, frustrated, mouth open, exactly like a bull who has run through a cape. "Get those sons of bitches," the cop screamed hoarsely, "they're our prisoners." Then he wheeled and charged toward Kiley's sedan.

MR. MORRIS. What was your next job, Mr. Kramer?

MR. KRAMER. With the National Labor Relations Board.

MR. MORRIS. Who were your references for this next position?

MR. KRAMER. I don't know. You have various personnel statements. You can find them there.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have anything in Mr. Kramer's personnel file showing who his references were?

MR. MANDEL. Application dated December 30, 1944, showing the following references:

Victor Perlo, Robert Wohlforth.

MR. MORRIS. I think you must have the wrong one because this is his job now with the NLRB, in 1937. That is a later application, Mr. Chairman.

You cannot recall, Mr. Kramer, who were the people you gave as references at that time?

MR. KRAMER. No; I can't.

MR. MORRIS. How long did you stay with that committee?

MR. KRAMER. The NLRB?

MR. MORRIS. Yes; with the NLRB, rather.

MR. KRAMER. Until 1942.

MR. MORRIS. What were your duties there?

MR. KRAMER. Field examiner.

MR. MORRIS. Who was the chairman of the NLRB at that time?

MR. KRAMER. J. Warren Madden.

MR. MORRIS. Who were the members of the Board?

MR. KRAMER. I believe during that period Edwin S. Smith and Donald Smith.

MR. MORRIS. What was Nat Witt's position with the NLRB?

Mr. KRAMER. At one time he was in the Review Section and at another time he was Secretary of the Board.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you and Nat Witt secret members of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your next assignment after that, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I worked for the OPA.

Mr. MORRIS. The OPA?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what were your duties in the OPA?

Mr. KRAMER. Mostly they were statistical research.

Mr. MORRIS. While you were at the National Labor Relations Board you took an oath of loyalty to the United States, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. Very likely.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, does Mr. Kramer's file show that he took an oath at this time?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here an oath signed by Charles Kramer, dated June 20, 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you read the oath into the record, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

I, Charles Kramer do solemnly swear or affirm that I have read and understand the foregoing, that I do not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, that I am not a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, and that during such time as I am an employee of the United States Government I will not advocate nor become a member of any party or political organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence . . .

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Haaser, will you give that to the witness?

(Document handed to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. Is that your signature, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; it looks like it.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer on the grounds I have stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that if you answered that honestly it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KRAMER. I have stated my grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that you have stated your grounds, but I am asking you this question:

If you answered that question honestly, do you think that it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KRAMER. It might tend to.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you worked with the United Mine Workers after that, did you not, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. No; in between—after what?

Mr. MORRIS. You worked for the United Mine Workers prior to that time, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties with the United Mine Workers?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, I was working with Jess Lauck and Van A. Bittner mostly, in economic research.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you work with the United Mine Workers?

Mr. KRAMER. I think roughly about a year.

Mr. MORRIS. That is 1937 through 1938?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And then later in 1938 you worked with the NLRB?

Mr. KRAMER. Sure

Mr. MORRIS. Thereafter you went with the Office of Price Administration, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get into the Office of Price Administration?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall the circumstances. I was interested in doing more economics work, and there was some opening in OPA.

Mr. MORRIS. That was in 1942, was it not?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And that is all you can tell us about your duties with the OPA, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; as far as I can recall. May I consult with counsel a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MORRIS. What was your draft status at this time, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean that you want this committee to believe, Mr. Kramer, that you do not know what your draft status was during the war?

Mr. KRAMER. I was subject to the draft. I think at one time I was 1-A.

Mr. MORRIS. You were 1-A? You were physically qualified, and yet you never served, did you?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, I was called up for examination and I think that I was deferred for one reason or another—I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. For what reason were you deferred, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no idea, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, counsel has not been trying to be personal here, but we have had witnesses before the committee before who in the face of evidence that they were Communists, and working in Government activities, obtained deferments from service in the Armed Forces.

The CHAIRMAN. I am cognizant of that.

Mr. MORRIS. And with the possibility of being personal, we have to get facts on that.

Mr. KRAMER. Let me state that I made no application for deferment on my own whatsoever.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kramer, you do not want this committee to believe that you did not know the circumstances under which you were deferred from service? You mean you never paid any attention to that fact?

Mr. KRAMER. It happens to have been some time ago, and what the specific circumstances were, I don't know. Undoubtedly one of my superiors may have asked for my deferment.

Mr. MORRIS. And you do not know what superior asked for it?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no idea.

Mr. MORRIS. And you cannot recall any discussions?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall any discussions about it.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember the Ramspeck Act passing at this time, Mr. Kramer?

The CHAIRMAN. That was in 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. That is in 1943.

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall its passing.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you not know that the Ramspeck Civil Service Act passed at this time?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes. I don't know when it passed. If you are saying that it passed, it passed.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the Ramspeck Act did pass in 1943, and blanketed such men as Mr. Kramer into the civil service of this country, without any civil-service examination.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist at this time, when you were with the OPA?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir; on the same grounds I previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your next job, Mr. Kramer?

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the Ramspeck Act is still in effect, that thousands upon thousands of men of this type are still under civil service, blanketed in without examination, and still Government employees.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kramer, what was your next job after you left OPA?

Mr. KRAMER. I went to work for a subcommittee headed by Senator Kilgore.

Mr. MORRIS. That was in 1943?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; sometime in 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that the Subcommittee on Technological Mobilization?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who helped you get that job, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall who did help me get the job.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put into the record at this time rating efficiency cards in connection with Mr. Kramer's service in the OPA.

Mr. Mandel, does the personnel file show who rated him in at this time?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a report of efficiency rating as of March 31, 1944, for Charles Kramer, Office of Price Administration, Head Economist. It is signed by Herbert Schimmel, and the rating is E, standing for excellent and another rating of April 29, 1943, for Charles Kramer is signed by Victor Perlo. The rating is E, excellent.

Mr. MORRIS. May they both go into the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The ratings referred to were marked "Exhibits No. 151, 151A, and 151B," and are as follows:)

Standard Form No. 57, Rev.
Approved Dec. 1943
U. S. G. Dept. Of. No. 458

7.5.42

Form approved
Budget Bureau No. 60-2012
Approval expires Mar. 30, 1945.

REPORT OF EFFICIENCY RATING

ADMINISTRATIVE-UNOFFICIAL ()
OFFICIAL: ()
REGULAR () SPECIAL ()
PROBATIONAL () TRIAL PERIOD ()

As of March 31, 1944 based on performance during period from July 26, 1943 to March 31, 1944

Charles Kramer

Head Economist, P-7, 26500

(Name of employee)

(Title of position, service, and grade)

Office of Price Administration, Office of Administrator

(Organization—Indicate bureau, division, section, unit, field station)

<p>ON LINES BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE</p> <p>✓ If adequate</p> <p>- If weak</p> <p>+ If outstanding</p>	<p>1. Study the instructions in the Rating Official's Guide, C. S. C. Form No. 3823A.</p> <p>2. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.</p> <p>3. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position.</p> <p>a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italics</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions.</p> <p>b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning functions on elements in <i>italics</i>.</p>	<p>CHECK ONE:</p> <p>Administrative, supervisory, or planning..... <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>All others..... <input type="checkbox"/></p>
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- (1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.
- (2) Mechanical skill.
- (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.
- (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).
- + (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.
- (6) Attention to pertinent detail.
- (7) Accuracy of operations.
- (8) Accuracy of final results.
- + (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.
- + (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.
- (11) Industry.
- (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.
- (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records? (Yes or no))
- (14) Ability to organize his work.
- + (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.
- (16) Cooperativeness.
- + (17) Initiative.
- + (18) Resourcefulness.
- (19) Dependability.
- (20) Physical fitness for the work.

- (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
- + (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
- + (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures.
- + (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
- + (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
- + (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
- + (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.
- (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
- + (29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
- + (30) Ability to make decisions.
- + (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

- + (A) Analytical ability
- + (B) Technical knowledge of field of work
- + (C) Knowledge of agency organization and

STANDARD		Rating	
Deviations must be explained on reverse side of this form		Adjective rating	
Plus marks on all underlined elements, and no minus marks.	Excellent	Rating official	E
Plus marks on at least half of the underlined elements, and no minus marks.	Very good		
Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and any minus marks overcompensated by plus marks.	Good	Reviewing official	E
Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and minus marks not overcompensated by plus marks.	Fair		
Minus marks on at least half of the underlined elements.	Unsatisfactory		
Rated by <u>Robert L. Johnson, Chief Investigator</u>		Date <u>8-20-44</u>	
(Signature of rating official)		(Date)	
Reviewed by		Date	
(Signature of reviewing official)		(Date)	
Rating approved by efficiency rating committee <u>6-1-44</u>		Report to employee	
(Date)		(Adjective rating)	

Standard Form No. 51
 Appr. Jan. 6, 1942
 G. S. C. Dept. Cir. No. 208

REPORT OF EFFICIENCY RATING

Classification Symbols		
(Service)	(Grade)	(Class)
P		

As of April 29, 1943 based on performance during period from August 1, 1942 to March 31, 1943

Charles Kramer Head Economist Professional Services Department
 (Name of employee) (Title of position) (Bureau)

Research Rationing Analysis & Review Branch
 (Division) (Section) (Subsection or unit)

ON LINES BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE	1. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position. 2. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position. a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italics</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions. b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning employees on all elements pertinent to the position whether in <i>italics</i> or not. 3. Before rating, become thoroughly familiar with instructions in the rating manual.	CHECK ONE: Administrative, supervisory, or planning <input type="checkbox"/> All others <input type="checkbox"/>
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- (1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.
 (2) Mechanical skill.
 (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.
 (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).
 (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.
 (6) Attention to pertinent detail.
 (7) Accuracy of operations.
 (8) Accuracy of final results.
 (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.
 (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.
 (11) Industry.
 (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.
 (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records? Yes or no)
 (14) Ability to organize his work.
 (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.
 (16) Cooperativeness.
 (17) Initiative.
 (18) Resourcefulness.
 (19) Dependability.
 (20) Physical fitness for the work.

- (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
 (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
 (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures.
 (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
 (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
 (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
 (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.
 (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
 (29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
 (30) Ability to make decisions.
 (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

- (A)
 (B)
 (C)

STANDARD		Adjective rating	Numerical rating	Rating official	Reviewing official
All underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus		Excellent	1	5	
A majority of underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus		Very good	2 or 3		
All underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks fully compensated by plus marks, or a majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks on underlined elements over-compensated by plus marks on underlined elements		Good	4, 5, or 6		
A majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks not fully compensated by plus marks		Fair	7 or 8		
A majority of underlined elements marked minus		Unsatisfactory	9		

On the whole, do you consider the conduct of this employee to be satisfactory? Yes (See back of form)

Rated by Richard V. Hilbert Donna L. Rasmussen Apr 20 '43
 (Signature of rating official) (Title) (Date)

Reviewed by _____
 (Signature of reviewing official) (Title) (Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee _____ Report to employee _____
 (Date) (Adjective rating) (Numerical rating)

Standard Form No. 21
April, Jan. 1, 1943
C. A. C. Dept. Ch. No. 242

REPORT OF REGULAR () INTERIM () PROBATIONARY-1ST () 2d () EFFICIENCY RATING

Classification Symbols		
(Service)	(Grade)	(Class)

As of Aug. 28, 1942 based on performance during period from Feb. 25, 1942 to July 31, 1942

Charles Kramer

(Name of employee)

Asst. Chief of Branch

(Title of position)

O. P. A.

(Bureau)

Research

(Division)

Stat. Anal. Branch

(Section)

(Subsection or unit)

(Field office)

ON LINES BELOW
MARK EMPLOYEE

✓ if adequate
- if weak
+ if outstanding

- Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.
- Rate only on elements pertinent to the position.
 - Do not rate on elements in *italics* except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions.
 - Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning employees on all elements pertinent to the position whether in *italics* or not.
- Before rating, become thoroughly familiar with instructions in the rating manual.

CHECK ONE:

Administrative, supervisory, or planning ☐
All others ☐

- Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.
- Mechanical skill.
- Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.
- Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).
- Attention to broad phases of assignments.
- Attention to pertinent detail.
- Accuracy of operations.
- Accuracy of final results.
- Accuracy of judgments or decisions.
- Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.
- Industry.
- Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.
- Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records? Yes or no)
- Ability to organize his work.
- Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.
- Cooperativeness.
- Initiative.
- Resourcefulness.
- Dependability.
- Physical fitness for the work.

- Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
- Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
- Effectiveness in devising procedures.
- Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
- Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
- Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
- Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.
- Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
- Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
- Ability to make decisions.
- Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

-
-
-

STANDARD
Deviations must be explained on reverse side of this form

- All Underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus
- A majority of underlined elements marked plus, and no element marked minus
- All underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks fully compensated by plus marks, or a majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks on underlined elements overcompensated by plus marks on underlined elements
- A majority of underlined elements marked at least with a check, and minus marks not fully compensated by plus marks
- A majority of underlined elements marked minus

Adjective rating	Numerical rating
Excellent	1
Very good	2 or 3
Good	4, 5, or 6
Fair	7 or 8
Unsatisfactory	9

Adjective rating Numerical rating

Rating official E

Reviewing official E

On the whole, do you consider the conduct of this employee to be satisfactory? (See back of form)

Rated by Victor P. ...

(Signature of rating official)

Branch Chief

(Title)

7/15/42

(Date)

Reviewed by ...

(Signature of reviewing official)

Assistant Director

(Title)

9/15/42

(Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee (Date) Report to employee (Adjective rating) (Numerical rating)

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary at this time, with the OPA?

Mr. KRAMER. \$6,500.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo had been a member of the Harold Ware Communist group or cell of the Communist Party with you; had he not?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever attend meetings of the Communist Party with Herbert Schimmel?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that for a while here when we asked Mr. Kramer if he knows the circumstances under which he was transferred from one job to another he never has any recollection of his transfers.

What was your next job after that, Mr. Kramer? That is after you left the Subcommittee on Technological Mobilization. That was a Senate subcommittee; was it not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That was a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor; was it not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was chairman of that committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Senator Pepper.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your salary there?

Mr. KRAMER. I think it was \$8,000.

Mr. MORRIS. \$8,000. Who helped you get that job?

Mr. KRAMER. Senator Pepper hired me. He approached me to take the job.

Mr. MORRIS. Did any member of the Communist Party help you get that job?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your next assignment after that, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I ended Government employment, with that job.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your next job. This is in 1943; was it not?

Mr. KRAMER. No; you are speaking of 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. This was 1943, the Senate Subcommittee on Technological Mobilization? That was the Kilgore committee.

Mr. KRAMER. Then you asked what the next job was and I said the next job was with Pepper subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. After you left the OPA in 1943——

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You next went to the Subcommittee on Technological Mobilization under Senator Kilgore? You were there for what period of time?

Mr. KRAMER. 1943 and 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you left there and went with the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What type of work did you do for the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Research work.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you with the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Just during the 1944 campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Then after you left the Democratic National Committee, you came back into the employment of the Pepper committee in 1945 and 1946. Is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do Mr. Kramer's personnel files show whom he gave as reference at this time?

Mr. MANDEL. Application dated December 30, 1944, for Mr. Charles Kramer, the following references are shown:

Victor Perlo, Robert Wohlforth, Herbert Schimmel.

Mr. MORRIS. And Mr. Thomas Blaisdell?

Mr. MANDEL. Thomas Blaisdell.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may all of those references, including the ones read by Mr. Mandel, go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The application referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 152" and is as follows:)

APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

INSTRUCTIONS — Answer questions clearly and completely. If possible, write in **BLACK INK**. Attach two photographs: one for showing face, and one showing full-length. If you are applying for a specific United States Civil Service position, attach the photograph of the position. If you are applying for a position in the United States Civil Service, attach the photograph of the position. If you are applying for a position in the United States Civil Service, attach the photograph of the position. If you are applying for a position in the United States Civil Service, attach the photograph of the position.

1. Name of contributor (any or none of position applied for)	AV	This space for U. S. Civil Service Commission	U. S. Civil Service Commission
2. Date of contribution (to a certain list of position of employment applied for)			
3. Date of receipt of contribution (to a certain list of position of employment applied for)			

4. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Charles Last name (First name optional) 4621 S. 24th Street Arlington, Virginia	5. Kramer (Last name)	6. Dec. 30, 1944 (Date of this application)	7. 38 (Date of birth)	8. 38 (Date of birth)	9. 38 (Date of birth)	10. 38 (Date of birth)	11. 38 (Date of birth)	12. 38 (Date of birth)	13. 38 (Date of birth)	14. 38 (Date of birth)	15. 38 (Date of birth)	16. 38 (Date of birth)	17. 38 (Date of birth)	18. 38 (Date of birth)	19. 38 (Date of birth)	20. 38 (Date of birth)	21. 38 (Date of birth)	22. 38 (Date of birth)	23. 38 (Date of birth)	24. 38 (Date of birth)	25. 38 (Date of birth)	26. 38 (Date of birth)	27. 38 (Date of birth)	28. 38 (Date of birth)	29. 38 (Date of birth)	30. 38 (Date of birth)	31. 38 (Date of birth)	32. 38 (Date of birth)	33. 38 (Date of birth)	34. 38 (Date of birth)	35. 38 (Date of birth)	36. 38 (Date of birth)	37. 38 (Date of birth)	38. 38 (Date of birth)	39. 38 (Date of birth)	40. 38 (Date of birth)	41. 38 (Date of birth)	42. 38 (Date of birth)	43. 38 (Date of birth)	44. 38 (Date of birth)	45. 38 (Date of birth)	46. 38 (Date of birth)	47. 38 (Date of birth)	48. 38 (Date of birth)	49. 38 (Date of birth)	50. 38 (Date of birth)	51. 38 (Date of birth)	52. 38 (Date of birth)	53. 38 (Date of birth)	54. 38 (Date of birth)	55. 38 (Date of birth)	56. 38 (Date of birth)	57. 38 (Date of birth)	58. 38 (Date of birth)	59. 38 (Date of birth)	60. 38 (Date of birth)	61. 38 (Date of birth)	62. 38 (Date of birth)	63. 38 (Date of birth)	64. 38 (Date of birth)	65. 38 (Date of birth)	66. 38 (Date of birth)	67. 38 (Date of birth)	68. 38 (Date of birth)	69. 38 (Date of birth)	70. 38 (Date of birth)	71. 38 (Date of birth)	72. 38 (Date of birth)	73. 38 (Date of birth)	74. 38 (Date of birth)	75. 38 (Date of birth)	76. 38 (Date of birth)	77. 38 (Date of birth)	78. 38 (Date of birth)	79. 38 (Date of birth)	80. 38 (Date of birth)	81. 38 (Date of birth)	82. 38 (Date of birth)	83. 38 (Date of birth)	84. 38 (Date of birth)	85. 38 (Date of birth)	86. 38 (Date of birth)	87. 38 (Date of birth)	88. 38 (Date of birth)	89. 38 (Date of birth)	90. 38 (Date of birth)	91. 38 (Date of birth)	92. 38 (Date of birth)	93. 38 (Date of birth)	94. 38 (Date of birth)	95. 38 (Date of birth)	96. 38 (Date of birth)	97. 38 (Date of birth)	98. 38 (Date of birth)	99. 38 (Date of birth)	100. 38 (Date of birth)
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<p>23. Have you ever been employed by the Customs Service, Army, Navy, or any other Federal Government agency? If so, give address and location of local branch.</p> <p>45 Astor Place, N.Y.C.</p> <p>NY-1</p> <p>1477</p>	<p>24. Are you the subject of any investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>25. Give names of persons who have been in contact with you during the past 12 months.</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>26. Would you accept short-term appointment? If so, for how long?</p> <p>3 months</p>	<p>27. Would you accept appointment anywhere abroad in the United States?</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>N.Y.C.</p>	<p>28. Would you accept appointment outside the United States? If so, for how long?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>29. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>30. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>31. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>32. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>33. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>34. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>35. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>36. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>37. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>	<p>38. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?</p> <p>NO</p>
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Charles Kramer

I

Under Rumspeck Act, Wash. D.C. 1943

Economist

present

I

X

Wash. Sq. College,
New York City, N.Y.
New York University, N.Y.C.
Grad. Fac. New School, N.Y.C.

B.Sc. 1927

4

1923 1927

140

M.Sc. 1931

2

1927 1931

30

2

1939 1942

30

Biology
Chemistry
History
English

Biostatistics and Physics
Physiology
Economic Theory & Mathem. Econ.

30
29
16
18

18
12
30

Sen. Harley M. Kilgore Senate Office Bldg., Wash. D.C. U.S. Senator.
 Arthur F. Leo WFB, Washington, D.C. Chief Statistician, WPB
 Herbert Wohlforth 30 Broad Street, N.Y.C. Economist, Dept. of Justice
 Herbert Schimmel Room 138, Senate Office Building, Wash. Staff Director, Senate Comm.
 Thomas H. Haggell WFB, Washington, D.C. Bureau Chief, WPB

Washington, D.C. Economic Advisor 6500
 June 13, 1943 YF. 60.

Director, economic investigations,
 W.C. of Sen. Kilgore on Kilgore's personal liability for reports, clear
 E.C. 1931, Senate Office Bldg., Wash. D.C. Reports with Senate.

Senate Committee

E-C professional

Herbert Schimmel

Staff Director

to HU professional and clerical-statistical.

V. Parlo, R.V. Gilbert

Mr. of Research Div.

loaned to Senate Comm.

statistical

New York City N.Y.

Aug. 39 Feb. 42

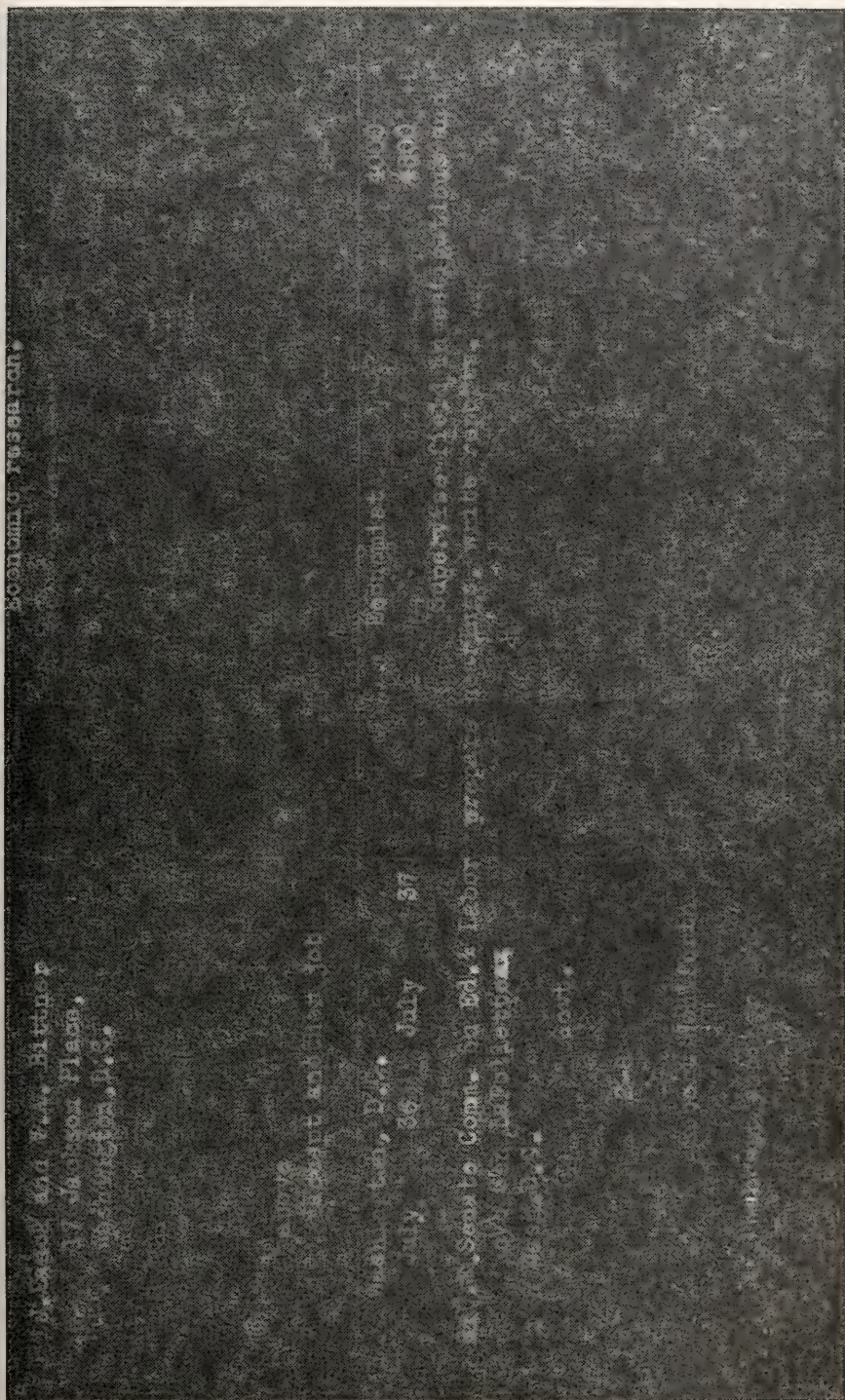
National Labor Relations Bd.

120 Wall St., N.Y.C.

3800

4,000

Investigate and settle labor disputes arising under N.L.R.A. Write reports.



43. Answer for detailed answers to other questions.

Write in left column numbers of items to which detailed answers are given.

rearranged, adjusted by clause.

Father and mother, born in Poland
Father naturalized, c. 1928

Yes No

49. Do you hold any position or office under any State, Territory, County or Municipal Government?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

50. Do you receive any pension or other benefit in whole or in part from the U. S. Government under any law?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

51. Show name and address of wife, husband and employer (if none, write None).

None

Yes No

52. Were any of the following members of your family born and raised in the U. S.?
Wife: ☒ Foreign ☒ Native

Yes No

53. Do you receive any pension or other benefit in whole or in part from the U. S. Government under any law?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

54. Have you any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

55. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

56. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

57. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

58. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

59. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

60. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

61. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

62. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Yes No

63. Do you have any skills, talents or special abilities?
If so, give details under item 45.

Economic research

100

60

If more space is required, use a sheet of THIS paper, size 8 x 10 1/4 inches. Write on each sheet your name, full address, date of birth, and examination fee (the one dollar only). Enclose, unfastened, with application.

If you desire preference for the Indian Service as an Indian, you must file, with this application, a certificate from the superintendent of the Indian agency where you are registered, or from the Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, showing that you have at least one-fourth Indian blood.

JURAT (OR OATH) — This jurat (or oath) must be executed.

The following oath must be taken before a notary public, the secretary of a United States civil service board of examiners, or other agency authorized to administer oaths, before whom the applicant must appear in person. The following are among those not authorized to administer this oath: Postmasters (except in Alaska), Army officers, post office inspectors, and chief clerks and assistant chief clerks of the Railway Mail Service.

The composition and work in connection with any material required to be submitted for this examination are entirely my own, except where I have given full credit for quoted matter or the collaboration of others by quotation marks and references, and in the composition of the same I have received no assistance except as indicated fully in my explanatory statement.

I, the undersigned, DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR (OR AFFIRM) that the statements made by me in answer to the foregoing questions are full and true to the best of my knowledge and belief. SO HELP ME GOD.

I declare, under oath, that I am, and I maintain that I am, an alien, native of _____, and I was born _____ at _____, _____, _____, U. S. A.

Signature of applicant

(Sign with PEN and not your name — use given name, initial or nickname, and surname)

Charles Kraver

Subscribed and duly sworn to before me according to law by the above-named applicant this _____ day _____ 19____ at _____ (city or town) of _____ New York _____ day _____

19____ at _____ (city or town) of _____ New York _____ day _____

and State (or Territory or District) of _____

Signature of officer

(Type name in full)

Notary Public in and for the State of _____

(N. Y. C. A. 10)

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties with the Subcommittee on Education and Labor under Senator Pepper?

Mr. KRAMER. We were conducting hearings and investigations and reports on wartime health and education and associated problems.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your salary at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I think it was about \$8,000.

Mr. MORRIS. And you held that position until some time in 1946?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What month in 1946? Do you recall, Mr. Kramer.

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it late in the year or early in the year?

Mr. KRAMER. I think it was in the summer of 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether you were at any time the subject of an investigation, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you known that you had been mentioned by Whittaker Chambers in 1939 to Adolph Berle as a member of an espionage ring?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no knowledge of that fact. Was there any comment at any time that Mr. Chambers had so given this report?

Mr. KRAMER. Not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Chambers at all?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds, that I previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us whether or not you were in that Ware cell with him?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you heard at any time that Whittaker Chambers had broken with the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have a discussion about whether or not Whittaker Chambers had in fact given testimony to the United States Government about his past associations in the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have testimony that Elizabeth Bentley identified this man as a member of the Soviet espionage ring, in 1945.

Did you ever know Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever transmit to her Government information?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with her in John Abt's apartment in Central Park West in New York, in order to arrange whether or not you were going to supply her with secret Government information?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have knowledge that she was a leader of a Soviet Intelligence network in the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet in secret Government meetings in the home of John Abt?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that here again we have another instance of a witness who kept his Government employment for some period of time subsequent to the report as given to high intelligence agents of the United States Government that this person was, in fact, a member of an espionage ring.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will so show.

Mr. MORRIS. When you left the Government employment in 1946, you say you cannot recall what month it was?

Mr. KRAMER. Some time in the summer of 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your next employment after that?

Mr. KRAMER. I began to do free-lance economic research.

Mr. MORRIS. Whom did you work for?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't—for a number of individuals and organizations. I don't remember all of them. One of them was the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you speak a little louder, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. One of them was the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Mr. MORRIS. You work for the Progressive Party now, do you not, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a member of a Communist ring?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions to ask of this witness. I would like, just for the education record, to ask this gentleman if he has ever been a schoolteacher.

Have you ever been a schoolteacher?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you teach?

Mr. KRAMER. New York University as a graduate assistant.

Mr. MORRIS. During what year?

Mr. KRAMER. 1927 to 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. During that period of time did you ever attempt to recruit any students, or any of your colleagues, teachers, into the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. You also taught at the New School, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I took courses there.

Mr. MORRIS. During this period of time that you were a teacher, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like this series of questions to go into our Government record, and show the relation between educational hearings and the hearings on Government infiltration, to show that people who proved later to be members of the Communist rings,

had their origin somewhere in their educational background and teaching career.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. KRAMER, what kind of research did you do for the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Mostly research in preparation for publicity and speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you prepare research material for Henry Wallace?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write speeches for him?

Mr. KRAMER. I would write up drafts of material for him which he could use in speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of research did you do for the Kilgore committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, we did research on the influence of cartels on mobilization and the war effort.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of research did you do for the Pepper committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Research on the health, education, and associated conditions of people of the United States, mostly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your research on health for the Pepper committee lead you to the conclusion that socialized medicine was the proper thing for this country?

Mr. KRAMER. It did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnston?

Senator JOHNSTON. No questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mr. Gropper in this room?

The CHAIRMAN. I would like for the record to show again from this witness, that back in the days of the depression he was able to get a job in the Government. He does not recall how he got the job or who recommended him, but the record will also show that jobs were hard to get; that he started in with a salary of around \$3,000 or \$3,200 and, when he ended up with his Government employment, he was receiving better than \$8,000 a year.

The Ramspeck Act blanketed him in under civil service without any examination. From his transfer, first with AAA, from there to the National Youth Administration, from there to the La Follette Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate of which John Abt was chief counsel, I believe; from there to the United Mine Workers; from there to the NLRB; from there to OPA; from there to the Senate Subcommittee on Technological Mobilization; from there to the Democratic National Committee; and from there to the Pepper committee, and with no idea of how he got the transfers, or how he got the jobs, yet always moving to positions, doing research, writing speeches for top officials, always with increased salaries.

Mr. MORRIS. We have no more witnesses today, Mr. Chairman.

Senator JENNER. We will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10:40 a. m., the committee recessed, subject to call.)

(The following material was ordered printed in the record at this point by the Chairman:)

EXHIBIT No. 153

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington 25, D. C., April 27, 1953.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Notice to individuals: This record should be preserved. Additional copies of service histories cannot be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.

Name: Kramer, Charles.

Date of birth: 12-14-06.

Authority for original appointment (Examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive Order, Law, or other exemption): Executive Order 5-6-35; 48 Statute 55, Act 5-12-33.

Effective Date	Nature of action	Position, Grade, Salary, Etc.
July 1, 1935	Excepted Appointment.....	Administrative Assistant, \$4,000 per annum, FERA (NYA), Washington, D. C.
Sept. 16, 1935	Promotion.....	Special Assistant Project Director, \$4,800 per annum.
Dec. 1, 1935	Transfer.....	Special Assistant Project Director, \$4,800 per annum, Work Project Administration, Washington, D. C.
Sept. 16, 1936	Reassignment.....	Director Division Student Aid, \$4,000 per annum.
Dec. 1, 1936	Transfer.....	Director Division Student Aid, \$4,000 per annum, Work Project Administration, LaFollette Committee, Washington, D. C.
Mar. 11, 1937 to July 31, 1937	On Loan (In Non-Pay Status) (From WPA).	For LaFollette Committee (Senate).
Mar. 11, 1937	Excepted Appointment.....	Investigator \$4,000 per annum, U. S. Senate, LaFollette Committee, Washington, D. C.
July 31, 1937	Termination.....	
Aug. 2, 1937	Return to Pay Status.....	Director Division Student Aid, \$4,000 per annum, Work Project Administration, Washington, D. C.
Sept. 21, 1937	Furlough.	
Dec. 20, 1937	Termination from Furlough.	
Aug. 10, 1938	Excepted Appointment (49 Statute 451, 7-5-35).	Field Examiner, CAF-11, \$3,800 per annum, National Labor Relations Board, New York, N. Y.
Feb. 24, 1942	Separation—Transfer.	Senior Field Examiner, CAF-11, \$4,000 per annum.
Feb. 25, 1942	Appointment by Transfer (Executive Order 8833).	Consultant (Principal Economist) P-6, \$5,600 per annum, Office of Price Administration, Research Division, Director's Office, Washington, D. C.
	Classification (Ramspeck Act and E. O. 8743. Rated eligible on Form 375).	Principal Economic-Consultant, P-6, \$5,600 per annum, Office of Price Administration, Research Division, Washington, D. C.
July 26, 1943	Inter-Division Transfer.....	Head Economist, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, Office of Price Administration, Office of the Administrator, Washington, D. C.
Nov. 23, 1944	Resignation (To accept position with Democratic National Committee).	
Feb. 10, 1945	Excepted Appointment (Schedule A-1-13).	Consultant P-7, \$18.05 per diem, when actually employed, Office of Price Administration, Executive Department, Office of Administrator, Washington, D. C.
June 4, 1945	Termination (Completion of assignment).	

NOTE.—The above transcript of service history does not include salary changes, intra-agency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotion or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report such actions to the Commission.

A. M. DEEM,
Chief, Audit Section.

EXHIBIT No. 154

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
November 24, 1936.

INTEROFFICE COMMUNICATION—MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Kelly.
From: Mr. Williams.
Subject: Re Mr. Charles Kramer.

Will you please make arrangements so that Mr. Kramer can continue on with the La Follette committee as long as his services are needed. Mr. Kramer should be transferred from the NYA payroll to the Works Progress payroll.

A. W. W.

EXHIBIT No. 155

MARCH 10, 1937.

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Kinnear.
From: Personnel Committee.

Please place the following people on loan without pay, effective March 11, 1937:

Abt, John J.
Allen, Benjamin
Arbuthnet, Sadie B.
Cullen, H. D.
Cummings, R. John
Frazer, Felix
Kramer, Charles
Love, Helen
Saylor, Allen W.
Shields, Ruth

These people are being detailed to the La Follette committee.

This supersedes our previous memorandum. Original in John J. Abt's file.

EXHIBIT No. 156

FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION,
June 27, 1935.

INTEROFFICE COMMUNICATION—MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Kinnear.
From: Aubrey Williams.

Will you please draw up necessary papers employing Mr. Charles Kramer, as an administrative assistant in the National Youth Administration, salary \$4,000 per annum?

AUBREY WILLIAMS,
Executive Director, National Youth Administration.

EXHIBIT No. 157

JUNE 28, 1935.

MR. JOHN E. DALTON,
Chief, Sugar Section, AAA,
Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DALTON: This is to confirm my understanding that you have no objection to the appointment of Mr. Charles Kramer to the National Youth Administration.

Very truly yours,

AUBREY WILLIAMS,
Executive Director, National Youth Administration.

X

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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENTS

MAY 12, 1953

PART 7

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi

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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1953

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in room P-38, the Capitol, Hon. William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner, Welker, and Smith.

Also present: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Robert C. McManus, staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Perlo, will you stand and be sworn please in public session?

Mr. PERLO. Are these lights going to be on all the time I am talking here?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. Can't they take their shots and go away, because it is warming us without—

The CHAIRMAN. I think this is Telenews and they have to have the lights to get their pictures.

Will you be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PERLO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF VICTOR PERLO, FLUSHING, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED
BY DAVID REIN, ATTORNEY AT LAW, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee.

Mr. PERLO. My name is Victor Perlo.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I reside in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. What address?

Mr. PERLO. I object to putting my address in the public record on account of the fact that as a result of smears against me by a previous committee and by various newspaper stool pigeons, I have been subjected to vandalism at my home, and I think that this kind of hearing adds to that danger to my family, and I don't think that the committee would like to assume the responsibility for making it still worse by insisting on having the address in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to make anything worse for you, but you have police protection, I presume, up there in your city, do you not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with the questioning.

Senator WELKER. Did you get his address? I insist that he answer that question.

Mr. PERLO. You have the address in executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir, we have the address. Proceed, Mr. Morris, with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Economic consultant.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you practice your business?

Mr. PERLO. Being an economic consultant?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you describe generally the nature of your duties at the present time?

Mr. PERLO. I do economic work for various clients.

Mr. MORRIS. Who are some of those clients, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean if you were to answer that question as to who are your clients, that would incriminate you; not them, you?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to get into a discussion of the reasons for my answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. And you won't tell this committee anything for its records about the job that you are now carrying on?

Mr. PERLO. That's right, except I'll say that the work I do I consider good work and honest work and on behalf of the American people.

Mr. MORRIS. On behalf of the American people?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you presently a member of a Communist espionage ring?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me and also on the ground that it interferes with my freedom of association.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you rule on his invocation of privilege?

The CHAIRMAN. This committee will recognize your right to refuse to answer under the fifth amendment, that it may tend to incriminate you, but we do not believe that your right of association is grounds for refusing to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in this memorandum of November 1945 which has been referred to several times before, one paragraph reads—and this, Mr. Perlo, is a memorandum which has been described by now Vice President Nixon as a secret memorandum, dated November 25, 1945, dealing with Soviet espionage in the United States prepared by an intelligence agency of this Government, was circulated among several key Government departments and was made available to the

President. Mr. Nixon described it as such on January 26, 1950. The pertinent paragraph here, Mr. Chairman, reads:

The head of the next most important group of Soviet espionage agents with whom Bentley had maintained liaison was Victor Perlo of the War Production Board. Members of this group were introduced to Bentley early in 1944 at the apartment of John Abt, general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO, in New York City. The individuals in this group include Charles Kramer, an investigator for Senator Kilgore's committee in the United States Senate; Henry Magdoff of the War Production Board; Edward Fitzgerald, formerly of the Treasury Department and then with the War Production Board; Donald Wheeler of the Office of Strategic Services; Mary Price, formerly employed by Walter Lippman in Washington, D. C., and now working for the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, in New York City; Major Duncan Lee of William Donovan's law firm in New York City who is also in the Office of Strategic Services.

I would like to ask about those individuals, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you, in fact, the head of an espionage ring during the war?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with John Abt, Elizabeth Bentley, Charles Kramer, and other individuals in the apartment of John Abt, Central Park West, New York City, during the war, 1944?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know John Abt?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Henry Magdoff?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the same reason—

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show each time the Fifth Amendment privilege, may tend to incriminate him.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Edward Fitzgerald?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Donald Wheeler?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Mary Price?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Major Duncan Lee?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have had testimony, in addition, before this committee from one Nathaniel Weyl that the witness here today was a member of the Harold Ware cell of the Communist Party meeting in Washington in 1933 and subsequent years.

Mr. Perlo, were you a member of the Harold Ware cell of the Communist Party in 1933 and following years?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

The CHAIRMAN. That it might to incriminate you?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet in meetings of the Harold Ware cell of the Communist Party with Alger Hiss?

Mr. PERLO. The same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet in secret meetings of the Communist Party with Donald Hiss?

Mr. PERLO. Same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet in secret meetings of the Communist Party with Lee Pressman?

Mr. PERLO. Same reason, decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Nathaniel Weyl?

Mr. PERLO. Decline to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. Did you know Harold Ware?

Mr. PERLO. Decline to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have also had testimony from Whittaker Chambers to the effect that Mr. Perlo was a member of the Harold Ware cell and was an active Communist agent subsequent to that.

Did you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. PERLO. Refuse to answer that question for the same reason, that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. And you won't tell us whether you are presently a member of the Communist organization?

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Queens County, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to Columbia University?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you get your bachelor's degree in 1931?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And your graduate degree in 1932?

Mr. PERLO. I guess it must have been 1932. I wasn't sure whether it was 1932 or 1933.

Mr. MORRIS. What degrees do you have?

Mr. PERLO. Bachelor's degree and master's degree.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Young Communist League when you were at Columbia?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me and also on the grounds that it interferes with my freedom of association.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that we do not recognize the right to refuse to answer on the grounds of association. His refusal to answer on the fifth amendment privilege, that it might tend to incriminate him, is recognized by this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, when did you first come to Washington to work for the United States Government?

Mr. PERLO. 1933.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the circumstances of your coming to Washington to work for the Government?

Mr. PERLO. The circumstances of my coming to work for the Government in Washington were that the country was in the bottom of the worst depression in our history and 16 million people were walking the streets, and the new administration that was coming in was asking people to come down here and try to work out ways of helping improve the situation and helping alleviate the misery of the people.

Mr. MORRIS. And you undertook to come down to solve some of those problems?

Mr. PERLO. To help in a very modest way to solve some of those problems.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get your first job in Washington?

Mr. PERLO. I was recommended by one of my professors at the university to some of the officials of the NRA with whom he worked and who asked him to recommend people.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that Professor Hotelling? Is he the one who recommended you?

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your first job?

Mr. PERLO. Well, to tell you the honest truth, I can't remember all of the details of the job, but the kind of thing I did was attempt to work out measures that would help in the direction of increasing wages and reducing working hours, increasing consumer purchasing power and hence increasing employment and prosperity in our country.

Mr. MORRIS. What agency was this with?

Mr. PERLO. In the NRA.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your first salary?

Mr. PERLO. I think it was \$2,300.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay in the NRA?

Mr. PERLO. Until 1935, at which time the agency folded up because it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do after that?

Mr. PERLO. I went to another agency—

Mr. MORRIS. What was the other agency?

Mr. PERLO. The Home Owners Loan Corporation.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get a job in the Home Owners Loan Corporation?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember the exact circumstances any more.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't remember how you got your job in HOLC?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't remember whether I was called, asked to come by one of the officials there, or whether I asked for the job. This was over 20 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Wasn't that a hard thing, to get a job in those days?

Mr. PERLO. Not in Washington in those days for a competent statistician and economist, no. As a matter of fact, there were plenty of times when you had to choose between various jobs because there was quite a demand during much of that period.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you live during this period, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Where did I live?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, in Washington. Did you ever live in St. Matthews Court?

Mr. PERLO. Might be. I don't remember any more.

Mr. MORRIS. Henry Collins used to live there. Did you ever live with Henry Collins at St. Matthews Court?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean, Mr. Perlo, if you would give us an honest answer to that question, it might tend to incriminate you, where you

lived? We recognize your rights under the fifth amendment, but we do not think you ought to abuse those rights before this committee.

Mr. PERLO. Well, Mr. Jenner, my residences are a matter of public record, I believe. I believe they are all on file one place or another. Nevertheless, I sincerely believe that the way this question is put in its connection, I must refuse to answer it on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked with Henry Collins, have you not? That's Henry Collins, Jr.

Mr. PERLO. Will you please explain your question?

The CHAIRMAN. You have worked with Henry Collins, Jr.?

Mr. MORRIS. In various Government agencies.

Mr. PERLO. It might be. I don't recall at the moment.

Mr. MORRIS. Where else did you live in Washington, Mr. Perlo? Did you have many residences in Washington at this period?

Mr. PERLO. I had several residences.

Mr. MORRIS. With whom else did you live in Washington during this period?

Mr. PERLO. With whom else?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. You shared an apartment with 4 or 5 attorneys down here, did you not, or shared a house with them?

Mr. PERLO. I guess that's so, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You lived there for a period of at least a year, too, did you not?

Mr. PERLO. No, much shorter period.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were those people, Mr. Perlo? Can you recall?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't recall.

Senator WELKER. You mean you shared a house with five attorneys and you cannot recall the name of one of them?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I remember one of them. One of them is Aaron Morouchek.

Mr. MORRIS. He died, did he not? Isn't he dead now?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know. Is he dead?

Mr. MORRIS. Where was this house located?

Mr. PERLO. Somewhere near Dupont Circle.

Senator WELKER. Do you remember the names of any of the others?

Mr. PERLO. I just can't think of any more. If you want me to search my recollection on it further, you can come back to the question later. I'll think about it. I just can't think of that.

Senator WELKER. All right, supposing we do that, Mr. Perlo.

Mr. PERLO. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your duties at the HOLC? Is it your best recollection now that you cannot recollect how you got your job with the HOLC?

Mr. PERLO. Look, if you mean did I fill out an application and get the job, certainly, that's what I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell me this: Did anyone in the Communist Party help you get that job?

Mr. PERLO. All my jobs in the Government I obtained on my own initiative and through my normal governmental contacts. Any of the people that I had contact with in connection with getting jobs, I didn't ask them what their politics was.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay with the HOLC?

Mr. PERLO. I stayed with the HOLC for 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What type of work did you do there?

Mr. PERLO. Well, my work there was in connection with activities of the HOLC in trying to save the homes of hundreds of thousands of small home owners who had gotten loaded up with excessive mortgage debt during the 1920's and I worked in the direction of helping to save more of these homes and in combatting against the pressures of certain big financial institutions that were attempting to crack down on the loans that HOLC had taken over and convert the United States Government into a big foreclosure agency.

Senator WELKER. Just one question more, Mr. Chairman. You stated a moment ago to Counsel Morris that you didn't ask any person who may have helped you get a job as to his political affiliation. Did you know the political affiliation of anyone who helped you get a job?

Mr. PERLO. Not that I can think of at the moment.

Senator WELKER. Did any Communists recommend you or help you get a job in this agency?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I don't—for one thing, one never knows—look, so far as I specifically know, the answer is "No."

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Lee Pressman ever aid you in transferring from one job to another?

Mr. PERLO. Not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked with Harold Posner, did you not, in the NRA?

Mr. PERLO. I think that a man of that name was working there at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Harold Posner?

Mr. PERLO. I know him; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us when you first met Harold Posner, P-o-s-n-e-r?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Harold Posner?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your next assignment after your HOLC assignment, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Well, it wasn't in the nature of an assignment. I was invited by one of my former bosses at the HOLC—

Mr. MORRIS. Who was he now?

Mr. PERLO. Spurgeon Bell. He had gone to the Brookings Institution to write a book dealing with labor economics. He had been asked by the Brookings Institution to write a book on labor economics and he required an assistant to help with various of the statistical work and with some of the writing of the material, and he asked me to come there to do that, which, of course, was a great opportunity for me to do creative research on a higher level than I had been able to do formerly.

Mr. MORRIS. During the period you worked for the Brookings Institute, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that question for the reasons I mentioned before.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay at the Brookings Institution?

Mr. PERLO. For 2 years, until the book was done.

Mr. MORRIS. Whom did you work with there at the Brookings Institute in connection with that project?

Mr. PERLO. What individuals?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, what individuals. You did not work alone, did you?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I worked for Spurgeon Bell.

Mr. MORRIS. Just the two of you?

Mr. PERLO. What?

Mr. MORRIS. Just the two of you working on this project?

Mr. PERLO. Most of the time, but there were a couple of other assistants from time to time.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were they?

Mr. PERLO. The other assistants that I can remember are John McClellan and Edward Posniak.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Posniak?

Mr. PERLO. Don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first see Mr. Posniak?

Mr. PERLO. Don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. You have seen him, have you not?

Mr. PERLO. He worked on the same project I did; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us something about your association with Mr. Edward Posniak? Do you know where he works now, for instance?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know where he works now; no. I read about him in the papers recently that he was under fire by one of these committees, but I don't know where he works now.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen him within the last year?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see him last year?

Mr. PERLO. What?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see him during the last 2 years?

Mr. PERLO. I don't think so. If you go back far enough—I really don't remember when I last saw the man. It's an honest answer, and I do remember that I didn't see him the last year or two. If I did, I wouldn't say definitely that that was the end of the period.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I submit that the witness is not being responsive to that question. As a matter of fact, we are asking for a list of associations with a man who was assistant research clerk with him back in the 1930's and I submit the witness is not giving a responsive answer to that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, can you not give the committee a more definite answer in regard to a man that you worked with and with whom you were closely associated?

Mr. PERLO. I think, Mr. Senator and Mr. Counsel, that you are making unreasonable demands. In the course of my work with the Government, I worked with hundreds and hundreds of people and you are saying to me: When did you last see one of those hundreds of people?

Mr. MORRIS. We are not asking you specifically. We are asking you generally, under what circumstances you saw him. He is a man you know well.

Mr. PERLO. I don't know him very well; no. It may be that I last saw him—my best guess as to when I last saw him was somewhere between 8 and 12 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. And what were the circumstances at that time?

Mr. PERLO. What?

Mr. MORRIS. What were the circumstances under which you saw him?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know. I might have had lunch with him. I might have seen him at a Government office, something of that character.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you have had lunch with him on several occasions, but you can't recall whether or not that was the occasion that you last saw him?

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever come to your home, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever go to his home?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember, but I did have lunch with him; I remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do after you left Brookings Institution, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I went to the Commerce Department.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your assignment in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. PERLO. Well, my assignment at the Department of Commerce was to work on methods for overcoming the 1938-39 depression, to figure out ways of helping to accomplish full employment in this country through more public works and other things in the interests of the people, and to expand foreign trade.

Mr. MORRIS. That has been your motivation all throughout this, according to your testimony today, wanting to improve the economic lot of the United States people and the United States Government?

Mr. PERLO. Absolutely, certainly, but it so happens I am telling you what my assignments were in different agencies and that happened to be the general character of my assignment in the Commerce Department, which I am presenting simply as I can in summary fashion.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked on the Secretary's staff, did you not, at that time?

Mr. PERLO. Well, it was on the Secretary's staff until Senator Taft and some of his associates did a hatchet job on that setup in the Senate on the appropriations and thereafter we were transferred to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you on the Secretary's staff? The Secretary at that time was Harry Hopkins, was he not?

Mr. PERLO. I believe he was the Secretary for at least part of the time. Whether he was Secretary all the time I don't remember for sure.

Mr. MORRIS. And it was your job to accumulate the facts and present facts that would be the foundation for basic economic decisions to be made by the Secretary of Commerce? Is that a fair description?

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you held that assignment?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons I mentioned earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean an honest answer to that would incriminate you? Were you adviser to the Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. MORRIS. Was he a member of the Communist Party when he held the job?

Senator WELKER. The chairman is correct. Were you an adviser?

The CHAIRMAN. He was on the Secretary of Commerce's staff. You mean to say that would incriminate you?

Mr. PERLO. That wasn't the question as I understood it. Do you want to repeat the question, please?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you repeat the question, Mr. Reporter?

(The record was read by the reporter as follows:

"Were you a member of the Communist Party when you held that assignment?")

Mr. PERLO. And I refuse to answer that question for the reasons I mentioned earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. The fifth amendment, it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. PERLO. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Willard Thorp was responsible for your hiring; was he not? You know Willard Thorp; do you not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I know Willard Thorp.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he instrumental in bringing you into that assignment?

Mr. PERLO. Might have been; not that I particularly know or recollect.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Veet Bassie, B-a-s-s-i-e?

Mr. PERLO. Well, he was my boss at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Salant, S-a-l-a-n-t?

Mr. PERLO. He was one of my coworkers in the Commerce Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us a description of your duties in the Department of Commerce at that time?

Mr. PERLO. I'll try to give you an example of the kind of assignments we had. We examined the various things that go to make up the economy, various parts of economic life and different branches of production and finance, and we saw which parts were particularly in bad shape resulting in widespread unemployment that existed at that time, and we tried to work out a scale and kind of public works and other projects, other measures, that would either directly lead to increased employment in these weak industries or indirectly lead to increased employment through increasing the purchasing power of the people.

Mr. MORRIS. You left the Department of Commerce in what year, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Well, toward the end of 1940 my part of the Department of Commerce was transferred bodily to the Defense Agency, Emergency Defense Agency, on account of the fact that the situation had changed from one of depression to one of war in Europe and the danger of our involvement in that war.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, work which had been primarily research and devoted to the solving of the economic problems of the country was now going to be turned to the problems of war?

Mr. PERLO. To the economic problems of war mobilization in preparation for the defense of the country, that's right.

Mr. MORRIS. And on November 1, 1940, you became the principal economic analyst for the Council of National Defense Advisory Committee?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I assume that the date on the paper you are reading is accurate and so on, but the connotation of it is slightly inaccurate, and I don't believe in boasting—

Mr. MORRIS. I am reading your positions in the Federal service.

Mr. PERLO. But I don't like to boast of how important I was and when it says principal economic something or other it does not mean that I was the principal economic this and that because there were a lot of titles like that and above principal economists there were head economists and so on.

Mr. MORRIS. You tell us exactly what you did at that time. That is what we would like to know in this hearing today, Mr. Perlo.

Mr. PERLO. All right. What I did during that period, the period prior to Pearl Harbor, my work was mainly along two lines: Along the lines of helping to prevent inflation, and to protect the living standards of the people under wartime conditions against war profiteering, and also helping to make easier and more thorough the mobilization for war that was necessary for the defense of the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, as I remember it, in 1940, when you went with that agency, there was no evidence of any inflation, was there? Were there not 10 million people unemployed?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I am describing the period between when I went with this agency—

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you went with this agency in November 1940.

Mr. PERLO. Yes, but I said up to Pearl Harbor. For example, early in 1941, there was a big issue on the question of wages and prices in the steel industry. I believe there was a wage increase in the steel industry and there was considerable dispute over the question as to whether the steel prices had to be increased, and one of my assignments was to prepare material on what the economic facts were concerning the ability of the steel companies to absorb the wage increase without a price increase, and the facts showed that the steel companies were making plenty of profits and could easily absorb the wage increase, and I assure you that of course my research was just one of many things that contributed to such decisions, but to the extent that it helped in keeping stable the price of steel during the war I am very proud of it.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you become associated with the Council of National Defense Advisory Committee?

Mr. PERLO. I told you, because my whole branch of the Commerce Department was bodily transferred in that work.

Mr. MORRIS. In December 1942, 2 years later, you were converted to a war service appointment, were you not?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that—

Mr. PERLO. If the record says so, it must be so. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you were head economist in the Office of Price Administration in the Research Division?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I think that maybe the date is a little bit wrong because I think that this agency was called the OPA long before November 1942. I think it was sometime around Pearl Harbor or even before that it was called the OPA.

Mr. MORRIS. But that was an automatic transfer. You mean you went with the—

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. The whole function was transferred?

Mr. PERLO. That's right. In all this period, Commerce Department, National Defense, OPA—it was all one job that was just bodily transferred from here to there.

Mr. MORRIS. All during this period that you just described, were you a member of a Communist ring in Washington?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. On February 17, 1943, did you become the head financial economist, salary of \$6,500 a year, with the War Production Board in the office of Production Vice Chairman in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. PERLO. If that's the way the record says it. I thought it was called the Office of Progress Reports, but it might have been called the other thing. And again I just want to qualify it, to point out that when you say head financial economist or something like that that this is a title and it doesn't mean I was the head economist of the War Production Board.

Mr. MORRIS. That is why we have you here, Mr. Perlo, in order for you to describe exactly what you did do.

Mr. PERLO. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out here that all during this period Mr. Perlo's salary is increasing. When he entered the Government with the NRA, his salary, according to this, was \$2,300. He got a promotion to \$2,600 3 months after he went there. With HOLC, he was getting \$2,600, associate economic analyst, after promotion \$2,800, after another promotion, \$3,100. When he was an expert with the Department of Commerce he was getting \$4,000 and it is now 1939. When he was a senior agent in the Commerce Department, Foreign and Domestic Commerce Branch, he was drawing \$4,600. Then as principal economic analyst for the council of National Defense Advisory Committee he was drawing \$5,600; head economist for the Office of Price Administration, \$6,500; and in this last assignment that we have been talking about his salary is \$6,500.

Mr. PERLO. I just want to ask, Mr. Morris, is there anything wrong in my having achieved these increases in salary as a result of my advance in work?

Mr. MORRIS. No. That is exactly what we are trying to find out here.

Senator WELKER. I have a couple of questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. We have been talking about your last assignment on the 17th day of February 1943. I wonder if you would be kind enough to give me a sample of your signature please on this blank piece of paper.

(Witness writes signature.)

Senator WELKER. Now, will you do that twice more?

(Witness writes signature.)

Senator WELKER. Thank you. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked "Exhibit A" and made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be marked "Exhibit A" and made a part of our record.

(The signature referred to was marked "Exhibit A" is filed in the committee files.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Perlo, on the 17th day of February 1943, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons as earlier.

Senator WELKER. I will ask you, Mr. Perlo, if you did not on the 17th day of February 1943, take an oath and subscribe to an oath before Marie L. Seebold, notary public of the District of Columbia, in which you do solemnly swear that:

I, Victor Perlo, do solemnly swear that I have read and understand the foregoing—

which is section 9A of Public Law 252 and I will show you this exhibit in just a moment—

that I have read and understand the foregoing; that I do not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; that I am not a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that during such time as I am an employee of the Federal Government, I will not advocate nor become a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

(Signature of employee) VICTOR PERLO.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of February, A. D., 1943, at Washington, D. C.

MARIE L. SEEBOLD,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

My Commission expires January 19, 1947.

Directing your attention to that personnel affidavit, I will ask you whether or not you did take that oath before that notary public?

Mr. PERLO. It's quite probable that I did, and I don't see any reason why I shouldn't.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell the truth when you swore to that affidavit?

Mr. PERLO. Of course I did.

Senator WELKER. Did you then advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Mr. PERLO. Of course not.

Senator WELKER. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you took that oath?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. And this is your signature on the personnel affidavit?

Mr. PERLO. I suppose so. I dare say it is. It looks like it is.

Senator WELKER. There is not any question in your mind about that, Mr. Perlo, is there?

Mr. PERLO. No, not any serious question about it.

Mr. MORRIS. At that time had you transmitted confidential Government information to a person you knew to be a member of an espionage ring?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. Yet at the same time you took this oath that you did not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, and you refuse to answer whether or not you submitted any secret documents of the Government of the United

States to an espionage ring operating in Washington, D. C., at that time?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I refuse to answer that question on grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. I will ask, Mr. Chairman, that the personnel affidavit be marked "Exhibit No. B" and by reference made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. B" and is filed in the committee files.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, in connection with your job with the OPA, was it your function to prepare data for top executives and prepare material connected with the interdepartmental work of the Office of Price Administration?

Mr. PERLO. I daresay it was. For example, it was one of my jobs to prepare the material, prepare the charts, that were presented to a committee of the Senate in the Senate Office Building the day after Pearl Harbor to demonstrate the need for complete authority to control prices and ration products on account of the country was at war, and I might say that a number of Senators there seemed to require an awful lot of convincing because some of them reflected a business-as-usual attitude.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give a description of your assignment as head financial economist in the War Production Board?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

My essential assignment there was—during the early part of my stay at the War Production Board my assignment was to assist in increasing war production, increasing the efficiency of war production, to expose and report those interests who were hampering the increase in war production for reasons of their profits, and I want to read to you a letter to me from Mr. Hyland G. Batcheller who was then Operations Vice Chairman of the War Production Board, dated November 23, 1944, in which he said,

DEAR MR. PERLO: I indeed appreciate the very excellent work you did on the report on critical programs. The job could not have been done without your help.

Many thanks.

Mr. MORRIS. You recognize of course that nobody on this committee is challenging your efficiency at any time. That is not the issue.

Mr. PERLO. Well, toward the latter part of the war my work was to help prepare for a smooth transition from war production to civilian economy with a minimum of losses to employment and jobs in the transition, and I participated in various projects that were specifically directed to these ends.

Senator WELKER. Who was the man who wrote you this last letter?

Mr. PERLO. What?

Senator WELKER. The letter you just read into the record. What was his name?

Mr. PERLO. Hyland G. Batcheller.

Senator WELKER. Did Mr. Batcheller ever inquire of you as to whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. Oh, I doubt it.

Senator WELKER. Do you suppose if you had answered that you were a member of the Communist Party he would have written that letter?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know. This is a completely hypothetical question.

Senator WELKER. Completely hypothetical, but very material.

Mr. PERLO. May I say that the atmosphere then was not the way it is now when "are you or were you ever" has become the \$64 question of the day, which is falsely interpreted as a touchstone of everything else, the merits and demerits of every individual and what he does.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Since from that statement I take it it was not so bad to be a Communist, did you ever tell anyone you were a member of the Communist Party back in those days?

Mr. PERLO. I think, Senator Welker, that is a loaded question, frankly.

Senator WELKER. Is it?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You told us that now it is very unpopular to be a Communist and it was not so bad back in those days. I want you to tell this committee, did you at any time in those days ever tell anyone that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. What I am saying is that I think what you are asking me, that question now, is a loaded question.

Senator WELKER. Will you answer that question now?

It may be loaded; you answer it.

Mr. PERLO. All right. I refuse to answer on grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Is one interpretation of your summary there that you were unmolested in transferring confidential data to members of an espionage ring?

Mr. PERLO. Say that again?

Mr. MORRIS. Is it a fair summary of your statement to say that during this period of time you were unmolested in transferring classified Government information to people you knew to be members of the Soviet spy ring?

Mr. PERLO. No. I want to make absolutely clear that I don't regard my use of the fifth amendment as a basis for any imputation of guilt. The fifth amendment is a protection of the innocent against star chamber proceedings and witch hunts being conducted by this and other committees today, and it isn't generally my opinion; it is the opinion of the leading Boston clergymen and professors who published an advertisement to that effect in the Boston papers the other day.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, you understand that we have in our record evidence, sworn testimony, that you were a member, a leader, of an espionage ring that was carrying on a substantial operation of transferring Government secrets to Soviet agents during the war, and we called you down to give you an opportunity to put a denial into the record and thus far you have refused to put a denial into the record about this very significant and very important evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like the record to show also that this committee is not so much interested in witch hunts as it is in rat hunts.

Senator SMITH. Would you object now to answering the question

as to whether or not you were a member of that ring that was transferring Government secrets for the benefit of the espionage of the Russians or the Communists?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I already refused to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. Then if you are innocent it could not possibly incriminate you, could it? If you answered, no, you had not done that, that would be such a denial that it could not possibly incriminate you; is that not true?

Mr. PERLO. I am not going to go into a discussion as to my specific reason why I claim the privilege on any particular question.

Senator SMITH. You were asked if you had done these things. Of course if you had said, "Yes, I did," that would incriminate you, besides tend to incriminate you, but if you said, "No, that is untrue. I didn't do it," that would not incriminate you, would it?

Mr. PERLO. I don't want to get into a discussion as to what would or what would not incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. A statement of denial by you that you had done these things certainly would not incriminate you, would it?

Mr. PERLO. I don't concede that that is so.

Senator SMITH. If a man is charged with something and he denies it and his denial is the truth, it certainly cannot incriminate him, can it?

Mr. PERLO. I don't want to get into a discussion.

Senator SMITH. I can understand why you would rather not do it, but you are sworn here to tell the truth. Why don't you tell it?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Senator SMITH. And yet you know that the truth would not incriminate you, if you told the truth that would not incriminate you? If you had not done these things and told the truth, it would not incriminate you?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Senator SMITH. When Mr. Morris asked you just now about whether or not you had transferred secret information to an espionage ring, I believe you said you refused to answer that upon the grounds of the fifth amendment and, that it might tend to incriminate you.

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. If you had answered that yes, it would not only tend to incriminate you; it would incriminate you, would it not?

Mr. PERLO. I daresay.

Senator SMITH. Do you not know that there is a law against the that, do you not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. If you had said that, that would incriminate you right off, would it not?

Mr. PERLO. What?

Senator SMITH. It would go beyond "it might tend" to incriminate you?

Mr. PERLO. I suppose so.

Senator SMITH. So you still refuse to say whether or not you were a party to or did you transfer governmental papers, documents, and secrets, to an espionage ring?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. You refuse to answer that?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have here a description of this particular witness' assignments with the War Production Board and his salaries. May I just read them into the record and ask him if these are the facts?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. After you were head financial economist with the War Production Board, did you become head production progress analyst at \$6,500 per annum on May 3, 1943? Does that sound right?

Mr. PERLO. That is possible.

Mr. MORRIS. And then on October 18, 1944 through an intradivision transfer did you become an economist in special studies, still at the rate of \$6,500, with the War Production Board in the Bureau of Planning and Statistics Office of the Director? What was your work in the Planning and Statistics Office of the Director?

Mr. PERLO. Well, then, toward the end of the war it became more the preparation for reconversion to civilian production. For example, on assignment I prepared a report that was published as part of a larger work with credit to me for my participation in it by the Civil Aeronautics Administration showing how the airplane companies could obtain very profitable civilian business by concentrating their energies on the development of cheap and small civil airplanes for personal use instead of concentrating on production of bombers and not go broke for the loss of the bomber orders.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the director at this time?

Mr. PERLO. Director of what?

Mr. MORRIS. It is the Bureau of Planning and Statistics, Office of the Director, in the War Production Board?

Mr. PERLO. I am not sure. Do you have it on record there?

Mr. MORRIS. You worked there, did you not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, but I am not sure. There were a couple of Directors that I worked for, 2 or 3.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the Directors you worked for?

Mr. PERLO. All right. At the War Production Board as a whole?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

Mr. PERLO. I worked for Mr. M. Joseph Mehan, and I think I worked for Thomas Blaisdell, and I think toward the tail end there, there was still another boss, but I am not sure that I remember his name.

Mr. MORRIS. Was your next assignment then, economist with the Research Coordinating Staff of the War Production Board, Bureau of Program and Statistics, Washington, D. C., at the rate of \$6,750?

Mr. PERLO. Must be.

Mr. MORRIS. Thereafter were you an economist at the rate of \$7,437 for the same agency?

Mr. PERLO. Must be.

Mr. MORRIS. And then subsequent to that did you transfer over to the Treasury Department?

Mr. PERLO. I transferred over to the Treasury Department, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have any job description in our records that we can put in the record at this time?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a photostat of an application blank signed by Victor Perlo on January 20, 1943, describing his work in the OPA. This application says as follows:

Direct work of staff engaged in preparing and analyzing basic data for research division and top executives of OPA. Write policy memoranda for economic adviser; also Mr. Gilbert. Attend interdepartmental committees, including WPB and Planning Committee as an OPA representative.

Reading from the same application in regard to Mr. Perlo's work in the Commerce Department:

Study and prepare reports on basic economic problems with special emphasis on relationships among major economic factors such as Government spending, taxation, private investment, consumer expenditures, and national income. Also develop techniques for forecasting trends in economic activities.

This is from a United States Civil Service classification sheet for Victor Perlo, Division of Monetary Research:

Under general supervision to formulate and execute policies, programs, and plans relating to fiscal monetary and economic problems:

Specific

1. To serve as Treasury Department representative on the key interdepartmental committees of the Government dealing with international economic problems:

(a) to serve as alternate to the Director of Monetary Research on the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy.

Mr. MORRIS. Your next job then was for the Treasury Department, was it not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. International Monetary Fund?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your assignment in the Treasury?

Mr. PERLO. My assignment in the Treasury was primarily to work with the Trade Agreements Committee which was an interdepartmental body charged with the work of attempting to reduce trade barriers under the reciprocal trade program.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have title of economic analyst at the rate of \$7,437.50 per annum, Treasury Department, Division of Monetary Research, in Washington?

Mr. PERLO. Probably so.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you describing the function of that particular assignment in answering that question?

Mr. PERLO. I am describing the main function of that particular assignment. There were various others. I don't remember all the details.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Frank Coe at this period of time?

Mr. PERLO. He was my boss part of the time I was at the Treasury Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet at a Communist meeting with Frank Coe?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that question on grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Harry Dexter White your superior at this time?

Mr. PERLO. I am not certain of that because I know that he was, I believe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury shortly before I came there and left either just before I came there or shortly after I came there.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Harold Glasser. What was he doing?

Mr. PERLO. Harold Glasser?

Mr. MORRIS. Harold Glasser.

Mr. PERLO. He was also my superior during a period at the Treasury Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have papers in our file showing that Mr. Coe and Mr. White did in fact give rating and aid in the promotion of Mr. Perlo?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here United States Treasury Department personnel recommendation in the name of Victor Perlo which is signed by F. Coe, Bureau of Division head, rating Mr. Perlo and stating, "Character investigation is in progress. Appointment recommended subject to favorable report thereon."

Mr. MORRIS. Several of those records show that Frank Coe gave him an excellent rating, do they not?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a Treasury Department, Division of Monetary Research, office memo, to Mrs. Hall, which says:

Mr. Coe has sent the attached note to Mr. White. He asked me to tell you to keep him on ice. Nothing doing now.

This refers to Victor Perlo.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Harold Glasser, Mr. Mandel? Did he give him any excellent ratings?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here an efficiency rating, Board of Efficiency Rating for Victor Perlo, dated as of March 31, 1947, for a period of April 1, 1946, to March 31, 1947. It is signed by Harold Glasser and the rating is excellent.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Glasser and Mr. Coe have both appeared before our committee, Mr. Chairman, and both of them refused to say whether or not they are presently members of the Communist ring, on the grounds their answers might incriminate them.

Senator WELKER. It is not a fact that they also refused to answer whether or not they knew Victor Perlo on the grounds that their answer might tend to incriminate them?

Mr. MORRIS. I believe so, but I would like to check the record to be certain.

Senator SMITH. I might ask this witness whether Mr. Coe is a Communist or not?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. Harold Glasser?

Mr. PERLO. Same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Harold Glasser?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Frank Coe?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Senator SMITH. Did you see Mr. Glasser about the time he was being examined by this committee recently? Did you know Mr. Glasser was before this committee?

Mr. PERLO. No, I didn't know that.

Senator SMITH. You did not know that?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator SMITH. Did you see him about a month ago or 2 months ago?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator SMITH. Have you not seen him in 2 months then?

Mr. PERLO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Was your last salary with the Government as economic analyst with the Treasury Department at the rate of \$8,778 per annum?

Mr. PERLO. Must be if it's in there.

Mr. MORRIS. This is March 28, 1947. Does that square with your recollection?

Mr. PERLO. It's about right.

I assume I wasn't put on that salary at that date because that is about when I left the Treasury.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the salary you had when you resigned?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do we have a job description of Mr. Perlo's work at the Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes. I was reading from it previously. To continue:

(a) To serve as alternate to the Director of Monetary Research on the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy. This is the supervisory committee overseeing all interdepartmental work on foreign economic problems. Its representatives include the deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and the Vice Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission.

To serve as the official Treasury representative on two of the most important subcommittees of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy. These two subcommittees are (1) on private monopolies and cartels, the membership of which includes an assistant attorney general of the Justice Department and the Chief of the Division of Research and Statistics of the Property Custodian, and (2) on trade barriers, the membership of which includes the Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Commerce Department, and the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Labor Department. This responsibility will involve familiarity with practically all areas of Treasury policy in the international financial field and its relation to foreign trade policies of this Government:

(b) To be responsible for the Treasury Department's conformance with the policies evolved by the Executive Committee on Economic Financial Policy. In this connection to assume complete responsibility for ensuring within the Department policy discussions and decisions necessary for adequate Treasury participation in the work of the committee; also to be responsible for insuring that the actions decided upon are carried out.

2. To serve as an adviser and be responsible for recommending actions required in the following fields:

(a) Aspects of domestic economy in relation to international financial affairs such as the supply of money and its speed of circulation, bank deposits, and lending activity, the volume of private savings and their absorption through domestic investments, production, and employment trends in industries with important potential export markets.

(b) The effects on domestic economy of current international financial developments and the prospective effects of international financial proposals; such as:

Effects of proposed United States loans to foreign countries on domestic financial stability and economic activity, including the general effects on circulation, prices, and employment, and the specific effects, of private banking participation on the volume of outstanding private bank loans, and deposits, the specific effects on individual industries of exports likely to develop from the proposed loans.

Immediate and long-term effects on the domestic economy of specific changes in exchange rates with individual countries, including the volume of trade with the country concerned, and the volume of trade with other countries which trade both with the United States and with the country concerned.

Effects of proposed international financial policy agreements on the domestic economy, such as the effects on United States foreign trade and employment of agreements providing for changes in foreign currency controls.

Effects on the domestic economy of United States private investments abroad,

including the effects on the total savings and investment of the economy, the effects of dividend, interest, and capital repayments, the effects of exports and imports resulting from the investments and the returns therefrom on specific domestic industries.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, that was your own description; was it not?

Mr. PERLO. Certainly a whopper of a job description, isn't it?

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your own?

Mr. PERLO. You mean, did I write it?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything to indicate that that is Mr. Perlo's own job description in there?

Mr. MANDEL. His signature is not on this document.

Mr. MORRIS. It purports to be his own document; does it not?

Mr. MANDEL. It purports to be his classification sheet.

Mr. MORRIS. Some of these job descriptions are even signed by Mr. Perlo; is that right?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That particular one is not signed?

Mr. MANDEL. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would offer that to Mr. Perlo to see if that would refresh his recollection or whether he literally submitted that as his own description?

Mr. PERLO. It wouldn't do any good and looking at it wouldn't make me remember.

Mr. MANDEL. This is signed by Mary B. Hall, signature of reviewing officer, F. Coe.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked for the Resources Protection Board, did you not, in conjunction with your work for the War Production Board?

Mr. PERLO. Not that I remember.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with all this work you described here in Treasury, did you ever transmit any classified material obtained from that job to people who have been named as members of the Soviet espionage ring that we have been talking about today?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, after you left your job in Treasury in March 1947, did you then try to take up work with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances? You did begin to tell us in executive session. Will you tell us the circumstances surrounding your application and your actual transfer to a job with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees?

Mr. PERLO. Well, the basic circumstances were that with the change in the policy of the Government to a policy of reaction and war preparation, and the Truman doctrine and loyalty problems, they were anxious to get rid of all of the people who served in the New Deal period, such as myself, and I was just as happy to get away from the job where I felt I could no longer make a contribution in the new environment, and consequently because of both of these reasons, I was looking around for something else to do and in the course of this looking around, but quite independent of it, I was offered the job of

being the Treasurer of this Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees which was then located in London and which later became the International Refugee Organization.

Mr. MORRIS. Who offered you the job?

Mr. PERLO. Who offered me the job?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. Well, it was discussed with me by officials of the State Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us who?

Mr. PERLO. Well, there was one——

Mr. MORRIS. This was an important job. You described it as an important job in executive session.

Mr. PERLO. Yes, it was an important job. I am not belittling it. There was one official who had relations to this particular kind of work and who had conducted negotiations with the Englishman who was the Chairman of the Board, technical level. I don't remember his name.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean you don't remember the man's name in the State Department?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember that man's name. I believe he was a professor of some sort.

The other man was General Hildring who was Assistant Secretary of State, who interviewed me in connection with this job and I believe conducted the final official negotiations.

Mr. MORRIS. General Hildring was opposed to you in this job was he not?

Mr. PERLO. No. I don't see how this could have been the case because as I recall I spoke to him before my name was transmitted to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, the point being that later—I just want to explain that this had nothing to do with being a State Department job. I was not interested in a State Department job, but it was a question of protocol, with being an intergovernmental agency and Chairman of the intergovernmental agency was interested in recommendations from officials of the United States Government.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you speak with Mr. Glasser about this job?

Mr. PERLO. I doubt it.

Mr. MORRIS. You doubt it?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, I doubt it. I don't know whether he was with the Treasury any more at that time. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, there was a question of your loyalty which had arisen at that time, was there not, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that this memorandum that we have been discussing throughout is dated November 1945 and subsequent to that time Mr. Perlo commenced his employment with the Treasury Department, subsequent to the date of that.

Now this job is 2 years later. It takes place at a time 2 years after the memorandum, this other job we are talking about with the International Committee on Refugees, and it is in that background that I asked that last question?

Mr. PERLO. Will you ask me that question again?

Mr. MORRIS. Did someone challenge your loyalty at this time?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I had been told at the Treasury Department that my loyalty check which had been underway for a long period had been negative.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words the check showed that there was nothing disloyal about your record?

Mr. PERLO. No, no, no. I have been told that the loyalty check was unfavorable.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment ago, Mr. Perlo, you stated that due to the loyalty problems and other matters, you felt that you could not make any contribution to the Government of the United States and in fact you were glad to leave Government service; is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. That is absolutely correct.

Senator WELKER. Because they questioned your loyalty you decided that you would be happier some place else?

Mr. PERLO. No, that is not the reason. For example my work in the Trade Agreements Committee, which I considered very good work, was in the direction of removing trade barriers and encouraging peaceful foreign trade. However, the policy of the Government had shifted to the Truman Doctrine and the trade and armaments which made it impossible to do any effective work in the Government for the promotion of peaceful foreign trade and I felt that my continued service in the Government, quite apart from the fact that it was obvious that the Government wanted to get rid of me, that my continued service in the Government would not be a public service any longer.

Senator WELKER. Were you loyal to the Government of the United States all the time you were employed by them.

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You wrote a book in 1951 or caused to be published a book.

You are the author of it, called American Imperialism; is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, I wrote it and I am very proud of that book.

Senator WELKER. I do not doubt that a bit.

Directing your attention to page 149, and there are many other little paragraphs I would like to read, but we will not have time, you did say this in your book:

A flood of popular hatred of United States imperialist domination is riding in the Marshall plan countries, threatening to drown the well-laid plans for completing the establishment of control over Europe, to wreck the plot to use Europe as a base for world war III.

Is that correct? Did you write that?

Mr. PERLO. Absolutely.

Senator WELKER. You used some information you acquired from the Government of the United States from your employment in your research?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Senator WELKER. You did not?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir; I used published Government documents. I did not use any confidential information in this book.

Senator WELKER. You caused some of the documents to be published; did you not?

Mr. PERLO. Some of the documents that I used as source?

Senator WELKER. The Government documents that you used.

Mr. PERLO. Oh, I question that very much. I question whether—I won't say absolutely, because that would require a special survey, but I doubt very much whether there is a single statistic or reference from Government sources used in this book that I had anything personally to do with in the preparation of it.

Senator WELKER. Well, you used Lenin a number of times too for the basis of some of your factual information there.

Mr. PERLO. No; I quoted from Lenin as well as other writers on the subject of imperialism, such as the Englishman, the English economist Tobson, and the American professor Parker T. Moon.

Senator WELKER. You are familiar with the publication on the west coast called the People's World, are you not?

Mr. PERLO. I know of the People's World, and I have seen copies of the People's World.

Senator WELKER. You know it to be a Communist publication on the west coast?

Mr. PERLO. I know it to be a left wing publication on the west coast.

Senator WELKER. Did you see their review that they made of your book, American Imperialism?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator WELKER. I will read it to you:

PERLO BRINGS LENIN ON IMPERIALISM UP TO DATE

New York. A particularly timely volume dealing with the underlying forces at work in the present world crisis is American Imperialism, by Victor Perlo, which International Publishers will publish in February.

Based on Lenin's analysis of the nature of imperialism made nearly 25 years ago in Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Perlo presents a wealth of current documentation to show precisely how United States imperialism is driving toward world domination today. Drawing heavily upon official Government documents, United Nations statistics, annual reports of large corporations, and business publications, the book reveals the methods by which American monopolies have come to dominate the economic and political life of the vast areas of the world, including Western Europe, as well as the colonial and semicolonial countries.

How do United States monopolies work with the Government to gain advantages over their British, French, Dutch, and other rivals? Just what means do they use to extract superprofits from colonial and semicolonial countries? How do these same monopolies go about extracting superprofits from the Negro people at home? What effect does monopoly control of the United States economic life have upon the living standards of American workers? These questions are answered specifically and in detail.

Did you ever read that review?

Mr. PERLO. No; I never read that review.

Senator WELKER. It was dated January 2, 1951, page 9, of the People's World, if you care to read it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have an official citation on the People's World?

Mr. MANDEL. The California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of 1948 called the Daily People's World "West coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party."

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, did you finally accept this position with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I accepted the position.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work there?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened?

Mr. PERLO. The State Department wouldn't give me a passport to go to the job.

Mr. MORRIS. And that is the reason you did not take up your appointment?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you protest that?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Do you know why they turned your passport down?

Mr. PERLO. General Hilldring said he spent 3 days trying to find out and nobody would tell him.

Senator WELKER. I am asking you: Do you know why they turned it down?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't know.

Senator WELKER. Were you asked whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party in your passport application?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember what I was asked in the passport application.

Senator WELKER. Had you been asked whether or not you were a member of the Communist party, what would your answer have been?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Perlo, a moment ago you referred to this committee as a group of witch hunters, and I am not going to sit here any more and listen to that kind of dialogue from you or anyone else who refuses to answer a simple question: Have you ever been or are you now a member of the Communist Party? When American boys and the American people are fighting and dying and spending their resources in fighting communism. I think that was very unfair of you to classify any committee as a group of witch hunters.

You have been permitted to come here with your attorney, which is a privilege. You have no right to do that and I think you will admit that you have been treated pretty fair. We have asked you questions. We do not get any enjoyment out of spending hour after hour working down here on this committee. It is a job we have to do and I will say this to you and all like you that as long as American boys are fighting communism, I do not think this committee is engaging in witch hunt, to ask a man whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party.

I want you to know that and you can tell it to any of your contemporaries wherever they may be.

The CHAIRMAN. Particularly might I state a man who came into Government—

Mr. PERLO. May I make a comment?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. You came into Government service years ago at a salary of \$2,300. You moved from NRA to the HOLC, to the Commerce Department, to the War Production Board, and to the Treasury Department, always going higher, even advising the Secretary of Commerce, holding key positions, where he could make policy to affect the future of this country, and yet when we ask you a simple question—at that time you were receiving your compensation from the taxpayers of this country—as to whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party, you hide behind the fifth

amendment. As Senator Willis Smith pointed out to you, if you would answer the simple question, "No, I was not," you could not incriminate yourself, so I do not think you are fair in coming before this committee calling us witch hunters.

I again refer to the fact that we are looking for people like you who are in here, identified by witnesses as a member of an espionage ring before this committee. We do not call those witches. We call them rats.

Senator WELKER. Let me make this further observation to you, sir. If you think it is unfair for this committee to ask you whether or not you are a Communist or ever have been a Communist, there is not a member of this committee that would not be glad to reverse our positions and have you, Mr. Perlo, ask us representatives of the sovereign States of this Union whether or not we are now or ever have been members of the Communist Party. You will not see any of the Senators hiding behind the fifth amendment. We will gladly and promptly answer you under oath. We are not now nor have we ever been members of the Communist Party. Call that witch hunting if you want. I call it a left-handed smear by you and all like you.

Mr. PERLO. It seems to me that you gentlemen are making your smears in speeches right now.

Senator WELKER. All right, you open up. Go ahead and make yours.

Senator SMITH. Mr. Chairman, may I?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Smith.

Senator SMITH. Do you want now to retrace your steps and say whether or not you are or ever have been a Communist?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Senator SMITH. You do not want to retrace your steps?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Senator SMITH. Did you ever go to the west coast?

Mr. PERLO. Of America?

Senator SMITH. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. And while you were over there, did you have any conference with Mr. Al Richmond, the publisher or editor of this People's World, this Communist publication out there?

Mr. PERLO. Don't believe I met him.

Senator SMITH. You are sure you never had any conference with him?

Mr. PERLO. No; I'm not sure.

Senator SMITH. You are not sure? You knew he was a Communist?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know if I did or not. I knew he was a Communist when I read about his being indicted under the Smith Act. I don't know if that happened before I went out to the west coast or not.

Senator SMITH. And you do not know now whether or not at the time you went to the west coast you knew or did not know he was a Communist?

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Senator SMITH. However, you do know it now?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. Have any of your writings ever been published in this paper or reviewed other than the review read to you a few minutes ago?

Mr. PERLO. I don't have the least idea.

Senator SMITH. Did you read the People's World?

Mr. PERLO. Not regularly.

Senator SMITH. You read it irregularly then?

Mr. PERLO. When I was on the west coast, I saw a few issues of it. That's about the extent of it.

Senator SMITH. And you went to the publication's office while you were there, did you not?

Mr. PERLO. Don't believe I did.

Senator SMITH. Where did you meet Mr. Richmond?

Mr. PERLO. I didn't say I met him. I said I thought I hadn't met him.

Senator SMITH. Did you meet any of his associates in that publication?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Senator SMITH. You do not recall, or you do not know.

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Senator SMITH. Or do you deny that you met any of them?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't deny it. I met a lot of people on the west coast.

Senator SMITH. I understood you did. Did you confer or have any conferences with any Communists while you were on the west coast?

Mr. PERLO. First, I didn't have conferences with people.

Senator SMITH. Well, meetings, whatever you call them. Did you have any meetings or conferences with any Communists on the west coast?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I met people on the west coast.

Senator SMITH. I did not ask you whether you met people. You were bound to meet people. I asked you whether or not you met or had any contact with any Communists while you were on the west coast.

Mr. PERLO. I met people, and I don't know which if any of them were Communists.

Senator SMITH. You do not know whether you met Communists or not, then?

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Senator SMITH. And you are not willing to say you did not have conferences or meetings with Communists while you were out there, are you? You are not willing to deny it?

Mr. PERLO. Of course not, because if I met with people and didn't know they were Communists—

Senator SMITH. Did you meet with anybody that you knew or had reason to believe they were Communists? Put it that way.

Mr. PERLO. I think you are just repeating the question.

Senator SMITH. No. I am asking you, Did you have any meetings or conferences or whatever you may call them with anyone who was a Communist or that you had reason to believe was a Communist at that time?

Mr. PERLO. Look, in the first place, I didn't have meetings. I gave lectures and people came to my lectures.

Senator SMITH. Did you talk to anyone afterward?

Mr. PERLO. I talked with people.

Senator SMITH. Did you have some conferences with people that came to your lectures afterward?

Mr. PERLO. I didn't have any conferences.

Senator SMITH. You just do not want to call them conferences?

Mr. PERLO. I know what a conference is, and I didn't have any conference.

Senator SMITH. What do you call a conference, then? Let us see if you have the right idea.

Mr. PERLO. My idea of a conference is a business meeting to discuss certain matters of business.

Senator SMITH. A formal meeting, you mean? Is that what you mean?

Mr. PERLO. No; I'm not speaking on formality.

Senator SMITH. Did you have any informal discussions with anybody on the west coast who were either Communist or had reason to believe were Communists?

Mr. PERLO. Look, I talked with many people on the west coast socially and informally, and I don't know about whether or not they are Communists.

Senator SMITH. I am not asking you about all those people you were talking to. I am asking you whether or not you talked to any Communists while you were out there.

Mr. PERLO. I don't know about any of them, whether or not they were Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any Communists at all? Are you acquainted with any Communists?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. Did you discuss communism at all while you were on the west coast?

Mr. PERLO. No; I discussed American imperialism on the west coast.

Senator SMITH. You never did even discuss anything about communism on the west coast in the hope it might correct this imperialism that you have been talking about so much?

Mr. PERLO. No. What I discussed was the need for peace and the need for a program of schools instead of airplanes, such as President Eisenhower was talking about about a week ago, except that I mean it and I'm for the end of the war in Korea so that we'll have it, and that's the talk I was making on the west coast.

Senator SMITH. You were advocating the stopping of manufacturing of airplanes and munitions and advocating the manufacturing of things that might be used in peaceful pursuits?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. And, at the time you were advocating that, you knew that the fewer airplanes or munitions we manufacture the better opportunity that would give Russia to excel us in the event of war? You realize that, do you not?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't agree with that interpretation whatsoever.

Senator SMITH. Then you think the fewer airplanes we have and the fewer munitions we have the better off we will be if we have to have a war? Is that your theory?

Mr. PERLO. No. I think that the only danger of war arises from the enormous production of armaments in this country at the present time.

Senator SMITH. Have you ever been to Russia, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Senator SMITH. Do you have any kinspeople living in Russia now?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir; not that I know of.

Senator SMITH. You have not heard from any of them in Russia?

Mr. PERLO. I do not know whether I have any relatives in Russia or not. Period.

Senator SMITH. Did any of your kinspeople come from Russia?

Mr. PERLO. Well, my mother and father came as very young children from Czarist Russia, but the places where they came from—I'm not sure whether they are part of the Soviet Union at the present time or neighboring countries.

Senator SMITH. Do you have acquaintances in Russia now?

Mr. PERLO. Do I have any acquaintances?

Senator SMITH. Acquaintances in Russia.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Noel Field?

Mr. PERLO. No; I didn't know Noel Field.

Senator SMITH. You do not want to answer my question as to whether or not you had——

Mr. PERLO. I'm thinking about it, thinking about whether or not I have any acquaintances in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness is conferring with his counsel before replying to the question after some long hesitation.

Mr. PERLO (after conferring with counsel). Not to the best of my knowledge.

Senator SMITH. Mr. Perlo, at the bottom of page 219 of your book you discuss Mr. William Z. Foster and his, as you say, latest book, *Outline Political History of the Americas*.

Do you know Mr. Foster?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. Is he not the chairman or the head of the Communist Party, or was he not, at one time?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I believe so.

Senator SMITH. He is now, is he not?

Mr. PERLO. I think so. I'm not sure.

Senator SMITH. You read his book, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, did you not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. And this is where you were discussing it, on the bottom of page 219 of your book. At the top of page 220 you say, and I quote from your book:

The very forces which guarantee this result——

that is to say, sound the death knell for the capitalist system everywhere—that is what you said, did you not, on the bottom of page 219? You used those words about sounding the death knell of capitalism?

Mr. PERLO. I quoted from Foster's book in which Foster said that:

A new world war would deluge humanity in a welter of horrible and needless slaughter, would surely sound the death knell for the capitalist system everywhere.

Senator SMITH. Then I direct your attention to the top of the next page where you say:

The very forces which guarantee this result strive by all means to avert that war. The U. S. S. R.—

that means Soviet Russia, does it not? That is what you meant when you wrote that?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH (reading):

The U. S. S. R., the Peoples Democracies, and China lead this world struggle for peace.

Mr. PERLO. It seems to me that you are cutting short your quotation prematurely and hence you are not getting the full context. To continue:

The scope of the peace movement was indicated by the 500,000 signatures to the Stockholm petition to outlaw the atomic bomb.

Senator SMITH. I was hoping you would come to that. You know that it has been established the Stockholm petition was circulated by Communists, do you not?

Mr. PERLO. Let me finish. I don't know anything of the sort.

Senator SMITH. Do you not know that the Stockholm peace petition has been demonstrated as Communist-circulated? I do not mean the people who signed it were all Communists, but a lot of them were taken in. However, do you not know that it has been demonstrated that that was inspired by the Communist regime and the advocates of communism?

Mr. PERLO. I know the Stockholm petition was issued by the World Peace Congress meeting in Stockholm, which was a meeting attended by Communists, anti-Communists, by lovers of peace from all countries and of all political points of view. Let me continue with this thought.

Senator SMITH. Do you deny that the Stockholm peace petition was inspired by the Communist groups that were trying to get that petition circulated to get the people to sign it and it was Communist originated and Communist inspired?

Mr. PERLO. I say that the Stockholm peace petition was representative of all of those trends in the world, Communist and non-Communists which were interested in preserving peace and preventing atomic slaughter.

Senator SMITH. And that is precisely what the Communists contended too, that it was for all these purposes.

Mr. PERLO. Are you in favor of war and atomic slaughter?

Senator SMITH. No; I am not. Maybe you are.

Mr. PERLO. No; I am not.

Senator SMITH. The Communists tried to use that organization for their own ends to lull into a sense of security the people in America. Do you not know that that is true?

Mr. PERLO. I don't follow your argument. It doesn't make any sense to me. Here is a petition that calls for peace and the outlawing of the atomic bomb and you say you are for peace and against the use of the atomic bomb and you say that the petition that calls for this is a plot.

Senator SMITH. No; I think you misunderstood the basis of my question. I said that that was used, but the Communists inspired it for the purpose of lulling us, that is to say, America, into a false sense of security with the hope that that would hold up the manufacture of armaments with which to defend ourselves. That is what I meant, and I think you knew what I meant all the time.

Mr. PERLO. I see. In other words, you are asking me: Don't I think that somebody is planning to attack the United States——

Senator SMITH. I was not asking you that.

Mr. PERLO. What are you asking me?

Senator SMITH. I just want to see how much, if anything, you had to do toward the circulation of the Stockholm peace petition for the purpose of lulling America into a false sense of security, which in turn would tend or hope to tend America away from the manufacture of armaments.

Mr. PERLO. What are you asking me?

Senator SMITH. You had nothing to do with the Stockholm peace petition at any time?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I collected 67 signatures on the Stockholm peace petition.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call to Senator Smith's attention that the witness testified a moment ago if we would quit manufacturing airplanes that would bring peace too.

Senator SMITH. Precisely.

Senator WELKER. I would like the witness to tell that to some veterans of ours over in Korea today. I want to clear this matter up with you——

Mr. PERLO. Where——

Senator WELKER. Just a moment. I want to ask you a question. At the very outset of this testimony in response to a question by committee counsel, Morris, you stated that you had done good work and honest work on behalf of the American people.

As we got into this testimony, you were asked whether or not you had ever been a Communist or were now a Communist. You came back with a shot at this committee that we were witch hunters. Once again, in fairness to you, I want to ask you whether or not you want to reverse the procedures here and want to ask the committee, who are duly elected representatives of sovereign States, as to whether or not any one of us has ever been or is now a member of the Communist Party. If you would like to do that, I would like to take note and answer you right now and not hide behind the fifth amendment.

Mr. PERLO. I'd rather ask you different questions. I am not interested in that.

Senator WELKER. Of course, you are not.

Mr. PERLO. I'm interested, for example, in whether or not you are in favor of ending the war in Korea or reducing the taxes on the people.

Senator WELKER. Who would not be in favor of ending the war in Korea and reducing the taxes on the people as long as we could get an honorable peace, but you and all like you are never going to convince this committee that we are going to be subservient to Communist Russia and take a licking over there while we have lost so many men and injured so many.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, I think this record clearly demonstrates your attitude toward this country and your motives for working in the Government. I particularly apply that to the fact when you refuse to answer simple questions as to whether or not you were a Communist when you were working with all these various divisions of our Government. Senator Smith brought out a book that you have written and mentioned passages from that book. I would like to ask you this question: What have you done to reduce the war production in U. S. S. R.? You have talked about reducing the war production in this country. What have you advocated toward reducing war production in Russia?

MR. PERLO. What have I advocated toward reducing war production in Russia?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. PERLO. If you let me answer that question——

The CHAIRMAN. I will let you answer.

MR. PERLO. The last couple of questions when I got in the middle of them somebody threw another question at me. In the first place, I have no influence on Russian affairs. I live in the United States and my responsibilities are here.

Secondly, I have made studies based on United Nations reports of the comparative armament levels and proportion of armament expenditures in the United States and of the Soviet Union and I can assure you gentlemen that the rate of armament expenditures in our country is approximately three times as big, if not bigger, than that in the Soviet Union.

Senator WELKER. How did you get that information?

MR. PERLO. From United Nations publications.

Senator WELKER. That was supplied to them by Russia, was it not?

MR. PERLO. What?

Senator WELKER. The information the United Nations received came from Russia and the satellites?

MR. PERLO. The information that the United Nations received comes from its various member governments, including the Russian government and the United States Government.

Senator SMITH. Right there——

MR. PERLO. I haven't finished my answer.

Senator SMITH. I want to ask you right there——

MR. PERLO. Why won't you let me finish one question at a time?

Senator SMITH. When you say three times as much, do you not know that the average workingman in America has three times as much income and three times as much liberty and three times as much everything else as the Russian worker does?

MR. PERLO. We could argue about your version of the facts, but that has nothing to do with the question of costing three times as much because it's an elementary matter of economics that the question of costs are determined not only by the rate of wages, but also by the productivity of labor, and as one can see from many American Government publications, and not United Nations publications, the productivity of labor in general is lower in the Soviet Union than it is in the United States, but let me continue with my answer, that not only are armaments production much bigger here, and I might say that our armaments budget is as large as estimates I have seen coming, I have seen in our press in this country, the New York Times and so

forth, estimates of the entire national income of the Soviet Union, and not only that, I think you gentlemen know just as well as I do that we happen to be the country that has bases all around the Soviet Union and not vice versa; and, finally, I want to say that I do not advocate only that we reduce our armaments; I advocate that we reduce our armaments and the Soviet Union reduce their armaments at the same time.

Senator SMITH. You think that the Russian system of economy is better than the American system of economy then?

Mr. PERLO. What?

Senator SMITH. Do you think that the Russian system of economy is better than the American system of economy?

Mr. PERLO. Well, the Russian system of economy—

Senator SMITH. I asked you a simple question. Which do you think is preferable, the Russian system of economy, or the American system of economy?

Mr. PERLO. In the long run, socialism is bound to work better than capitalism.

Senator SMITH. You favor then the Russian system over the American system?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator SMITH. You do not?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator SMITH. What do you mean by that?

Mr. PERLO. Socialism is not the Russian system of economy. Socialism—that's an important distinction.

Senator SMITH. What does U. S. S. R. mean? Does that not mean Soviet Socialist Republic?

Mr. PERLO. Let me answer one question at a time.¹

Senator SMITH. What does U. S. S. R. mean? What do those letters stand for? Do you know what they stand for?

Mr. PERLO. Sure.

Senator SMITH. What do they stand for?

Mr. PERLO. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Senator SMITH. And you think that is a system of economy superior to the American system of economy?

Mr. PERLO. I will not accept the implication that when I say I think socialism is superior to capitalism in the long run that I am favoring some Russian system of economy.

Senator SMITH. You do in this book, do you not?

Mr. PERLO. That would be nonsense.

Senator SMITH. Do you not in this book?

Mr. PERLO. No, I don't talk about Russia. That book is about America.

Senator SMITH. Who published this book of yours? International Publishers; is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. Do you know any of the people that are in that organization?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that on the ground it might incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the records, Mr. Mandel, do we not have a citation on the International Publishers? I would like the record to show that.

¹ See letter from Mr. Perlo dated July 8, 1953, on p. 451.

Mr. MANDEL. International Publishers is cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle as "the Communist Party's publishing house."

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Senator SMITH. Do you know that, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I just wanted to come back. You wouldn't let me finish my answer to the previous question you asked before on socialism.

Senator SMITH. I am asking you about this. You have answered about socialism.

Mr. PERLO. I partly answered about that.

Senator SMITH. You can come back to that and make a speech on it if you want to, but do you know that the International Publishers Co. is a Communist organization?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Senator SMITH. You heard that citation read by Mr. Mandel.

Mr. PERLO. What was the citation?

Senator SMITH. You heard the citation read, did you not?

Mr. PERLO. You better read it again.

Mr. MANDEL. International Publishers has been cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle as the Communist Party publishing house.

Senator SMITH. Do you know that?

Mr. PERLO. If you say so, it must be so.

Senator SMITH. Do you know any of the individuals in it?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer on the ground it might incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. Do you know any of the individuals?

Mr. PERLO. At the publishing house?

Senator SMITH. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer on the ground it might incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. Do you mean to say that you allow your book to be published by an organization that you are ashamed of?

Mr. PERLO. I don't say anything of the sort. I refuse to answer that particular question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. That is to say because you know they are Communists? It is a Communist organization?

Mr. PERLO. It isn't anything except I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. You write a book that you want Americans to read, I presume, and then you have it published by an organization that you are ashamed to say whether or not they are Communists.

Mr. PERLO. I am not ashamed to say anything about it.

Senator SMITH. If this book had been published by one of the other well-known publishing houses in America, you would not have been ashamed of that. Suppose it would have been published by Scribner; you would not have been ashamed of that?

Mr. PERLO. I said I'm not ashamed that it was published by International Publishers. I think it's a good publishing house.

Senator SMITH. You commend it, then?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Senator SMITH. One of the reasons you commend it is because they do have the same connections you have, that is to say, with the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. I commend the International Publishers because they are a good publishing house and they deal honestly with authors.

Senator SMITH. And you know a good deal about them; else you would not make that statement, would you?

Mr. PERLO. They published this book.

Senator SMITH. How many books of yours have they published?

Mr. PERLO. This is my only book.

Senator SMITH. How many of your books have they published?

Mr. PERLO. This is the only book I ever wrote.

Senator SMITH. I thought maybe you wrote some other books. You investigated them before you had them publish this book?

Mr. PERLO. What do you mean "investigation"?

Senator SMITH. Investigated the publishing house.

Mr. PERLO. I know we have come to the time when everybody is investigating everybody else, but I have never gone in for the investigation business.

Senator SMITH. Why did you pick out the International Publishers Co. to publish your book? Why did you do that?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, you know the head, Alexander Trachtenberg, is a Communist; do you not?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Senator SMITH. Why did you have them publish the book?

Mr. PERLO. Let me ask you a question, Senator.

Senator SMITH. I will be glad to answer any of your questions—

Mr. PERLO. Do you think that Scribner's would have published this book?

Senator SMITH. I do not know whether they would have or not.

Mr. PERLO. That's your answer really.

Senator SMITH. I have no doubt but that they would not publish it.

Senator WELKER. Did you find out whether Scribner's would publish this book? Did you submit it to them?

Mr. PERLO. I didn't submit it to Scribner, but I discussed the project with a couple of publishing houses in America.

Senator SMITH. Who?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember which ones.

Senator SMITH. And that book just came out the year before last?

Mr. PERLO. 1951, yes.

Senator SMITH. Do you not remember with whom you discussed it?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator SMITH. You finally decided that you had better have a Communist organization publish that book, or was it because the other companies turned it down?

Mr. PERLO. Look—

Senator SMITH. I am looking all right. I want to hear what you say.

Mr. PERLO. I wrote the book and they decided to publish it.

Senator SMITH. How do you mean that?

Mr. PERLO. International Publishers.

Senator SMITH. What were the two you referred to before?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember whom I talked to about it. I talked to a couple of them.

Senator SMITH. You mean to sit there and tell us that as to a book published within the last 2 years and that you negotiated with two other publishers before this Communist organization published it and yet you cannot remember whom it was you talked with?

Mr. PERLO. That's right.

Senator SMITH. And that is the only book you have ever written?

Mr. PERLO. Yes. I didn't show the manuscript to anybody. I didn't show the manuscript to any other house, but I talked to—I was introduced to a couple of people in the publishing field, not the top in their companies——

Senator SMITH. You do not know who they were?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember.

Senator SMITH. Where were they when you were introduced to them?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I don't know; in offices.

Senator SMITH. Were you in Communist headquarters?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator SMITH. Have you ever been in Communist headquarters?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer that on the grounds it might incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. I thought you would. How many other people do you know besides the president of this International Publishers connected with that outfit?

Senator WELKER. A moment ago you refused to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate you, but Mr. Morris refreshed the witness' memory so he came through on Mr. Trachtenberg. Maybe he will help us a little more.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know James Allen?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Senator SMITH. Do you know who James Allen is?

Mr. PERLO. He's the author of books.

Senator SMITH. He is a Communist, is he not?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. You know very well that he is, Mr. Perlo.

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Perlo, in connection with your statement here on page 220, "The U. S. S. R., the Peoples Democracies, the China lead this world struggle for peace," I would like our record to show exactly what countries you mean are leading the struggle for peace. Certainly, the U. S. S. R. is the Soviet Republic. Now, which of the Peoples Democracies?

Mr. PERLO. I want to make clear that this paragraph is referring to all of the forces in the world that are fighting for peace, including not only the Soviet Union, the Peoples Democracy in China, but the peace movement in Western Europe, and in the United States, in Germany, Japan, and in the colonial countries.

Mr. MORRIS. The peace movement is the Communist movement, is it not?

Mr. PERLO. It is not.

Mr. MORRIS. Is the Communist movement in the United States and in Western Germany and in the other countries you have enumerated a force for peace?

Mr. PERLO. I believe it is.

Mr. MORRIS. You say that "the U. S. S. R., the Peoples Democracies, and China lead this world struggle for peace."

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Which of the countries in your struggle for peace do you refer to on page 220?

Mr. PERLO. The Peoples Democracies.

Mr. MORRIS. Which of the Peoples Democracies?

Mr. PERLO. The Peoples Democracies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania.

Mr. MORRIS. How about North Korea?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know whether that's classified as a Peoples Democracy or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you consider the North Korean Government a peoples Government in the sense that you use it here?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think China is fighting for peace?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not happen to have any sons over in Korea, do you?

Mr. PERLO. No, but if I had sons over in Korea——

The CHAIRMAN. I doubt if you would still think China as fighting for peace if you had a son in Korea.

Mr. PERLO. Yes. All my resentment would be against those who sent my son over to Korea to die in a senseless war 7,000 miles away from here which is directed against China.

Mr. MORRIS. Then in the rest of the sentence you say "and China," and by China I suppose you mean the Peoples Republic of China headed by Mao Tse-tung?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who invaded South Korea?

Mr. PERLO. Do I know who invaded South Korea?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; do you know?

Mr. PERLO. Well, I don't know that anybody invaded South Korea. I have seen very powerful evidence indicating the possibility that the shoe was on the other foot.

Senator WELKER. Where did you see that? I want to know where did you see that powerful evidence?

Mr. PERLO. Where did I see it?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. I saw it in various publications.

Senator WELKER. The Daily Worker?

Mr. PERLO. I may have seen some in the Daily Worker.

Senator WELKER. You did see it then, did you not?

Mr. PERLO. I may have seen it in other newspapers as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Peoples World?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Senator WELKER. Tell us any more.

Mr. PERLO. You want to know some more places where I saw evidence of this?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. I will refer you to one of the best collections on the subject, which is Mr. I. F. Stone's book on the Secret History of the Korean War, but I want to point out that that by no means is the main question, because, regardless of what happened, the Korean war began as a civil war among Koreans, and I hold firmly to the position that regardless of who started it, the United States had no business going in there, and I think you are well aware of the fact that on more than one occasion Senators speaking on the floor of the Senate have pointed out to this effect and have pointed out that the President sent troops

to Korea without declaring war, without consulting Congress, and I raise the question whether you think that by the same logic we should send troops and airplanes to fight in Indochina because the Indo-chinese have attacked the French in Indochina.

Senator WELKER. You believe in the concepts and principles of the United Nations; do you not?

Mr. PERLO. I certainly do.

Senator WELKER. Did we not owe a duty to the United Nations to go to the help of our fellow member over there when he was invaded by force?

Mr. PERLO. The Charter of the United Nations provides against the intervention of the United Nations in the internal affairs of other countries—

Senator WELKER. How about aggression?

Mr. PERLO. I think it is misuse of the Charter.

Senator WELKER. How about aggression?

Mr. PERLO. Aggression within the Charter of the United Nations is an attack by one country on another country.

Senator WELKER. Do you not believe that was aggression and attack on one country by another country?

Mr. PERLO. No; it was a civil war within another country, Korea.

Senator WELKER. Do you want to tell us now: Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, you have some more job descriptions, have you, to go in the record?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be put in the record without reading them.

Mr. MORRIS. I have several more excerpts from the volume of American Imperialism that I would like to go in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go in the record and become part of the record.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 159, 160, 161, and 162" and are as follows:)

Victor Perlo

Please type your name here in item 4

11. (a) Have you submitted applications for any Federal civil or Government employment, if so, list them below

Type or print 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Place Washington, D. C. From 10 to 9 Name of organization Brooklyn Institution Address Washington, D. C. Kind of business or organization Research Number and class of employees and supervised 1 Name and title of your immediate superior Spurgeon Bell Senior staff member Center staff member Reason for leaving Better position	Exact title of your position Dr. Staff member Date 1950 General instructions to you in preparation of book review, particularly National Income, responsible for all statistical material, and making of research reports. Duties and responsibilities Research and statistics Method of compensation None
Place Washington, D. C. From 6 to 10 Name of organization Federal Reserve Bank Board Address Washington, D. C. Kind of business or organization Government Number and class of employees and supervised 51 Name and title of your immediate superior Secretary Senior staff member Director of Research & Statistics Division Reason for leaving Better position	Exact title of your position Analyst, Statistics Date 1958 General instructions to you Development of and monthly statistical reports in field of base income. Organized collection and tabulation of statistics all basic information on 1948 base. Prepared certain regular statistical indexes and prepared releases thereon. Acted as liaison adviser to other professionals in Division of Research and Statistics. Duties and responsibilities Development of and monthly statistical reports in field of base income. Organized collection and tabulation of statistics all basic information on 1948 base. Prepared certain regular statistical indexes and prepared releases thereon. Acted as liaison adviser to other professionals in Division of Research and Statistics. Method of compensation Salary, salary.

If more than one is involved, see a Representative Sheet (SSS-10-1) for a list of names and addresses. Date dictated and dictated (date of dictation). Enclosure, undated and with application.

Place Washington D.C. From Sept. 10, 1939 to Sept. 10, 1940 Name of employer Commerce Dept. Address Washington D.C. Kind of business or organization Govt. Position and class of employment you experienced Research Name and title of your immediate superior R. V. Gilbert Name R. V. Gilbert Position for leaving this position Asst. advisor to Secy of Comm.	Name and title of your position Expert Dates and circumstances Study and prepare reports on basic economic problems, with special emphasis on relationships among major economic factors, such as government spending, taxation, private investment, consumer expenditures, and national income. Also developed techniques for forecasting trends in economic activity. Position and class of employment you held	Name Washington D.C. From Sept. 10, 1939 to Sept. 10, 1940 Name of employer Brookings Institution Address Washington D.C. Kind of business or organization Educational and research Position and class of employment you experienced Research Name and title of your immediate superior Spurgeon Bell Name Spurgeon Bell Position for leaving this position Senior staff member	Name and title of your position Junior staff member Dates and circumstances Prepared report on Japan's productivity, and the Retention Index. Responsible for all statistical work and preparation of certain chapters. Position and class of employment you held
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Name Washington D.C.
 Title Chief of Staff
 Name of employer Fed. Reserve Bank Board
 Address Wash. D.C.
 Kind of position or organization Govt.
 Position and class of employment President's personal representative
 Dates of service in position 4 years
 Name of superior Mr. Jackson Hall
 Director, Div. of Research
 Classification new job

Name Washington D.C.
 Title Chief of Staff
 Name of employer Govt.
 Address Wash. D.C.
 Kind of position or organization Govt.
 Position and class of employment Chief of Staff
 Name of superior Charles F. Ross
 President's personal representative
 Dates of service in position 4 years

Name of your present office
 Title Chief of Staff
 Name of employer Fed. Reserve Bank Board
 Address Wash. D.C.
 Kind of position or organization Govt.
 Position and class of employment President's personal representative
 Dates of service in position 4 years

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 Position and class of employment Chief of Staff
 Name of superior Charles F. Ross
 President's personal representative
 Dates of service in position 4 years

Victor Parlo

Print or type your name twice on the form.

31. (a) Have you ever filed applications for any Federal civil service examinations? ☒ Yes ☐ No

(b) If so, for them below:

Title of examination	Location to class office	Month and year	Result
Asst. Ag. Econ.	Washington	1934	Passed
Asst. Ind. Econ.	"	1934	Failed
Social Science Analyst	"	1938	Failed
Statistician	"	1939	Passed

32. Have you passed any State or other civil service examination (other than the above) within the last 5 years? (If so, give date in circle below.) ☒ Yes ☐ No33. EDUCATION (a) Check highest grade completed, elementary or high school 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 (b) Did you graduate? ☒ Yes ☐ No

Name and location of school	Dates attended		Years completed		Degrees conferred	Title	Date	Honors
	From	To	Day	Month				
College or university	1927	1931	4			A.B.	1931	132
Columbia College	1931	1932	2			A.M.	1932	17
Columbia Univ. graduate school	1931-4	1932						

34. Other

35. List your last three undergraduate schools

Semester	Year	Grade
Mathematics	20	39
Spanish	24	12
Statistics	154	

36. Indicate your knowledge of foreign languages

Language	Knows	Speaks	Reads	Writes
Spanish	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

37. Are you now a licensed recipient of any funds in the amount of \$100 or more? ☒ Yes ☐ No38. ☒ Yes ☐ No39. ☒ Yes ☐ No

Class kind of license and State		Federal license (year)		Date next license expires	
<p>10. EMPLOYER. List five persons, who now are related to you by blood or marriage who live in the United States and who are or have been mainly responsible for the direction of your work, or who are in a position to give your work entirely in their own way, in which you require approval as best (qualify)</p>		<p>11. EDUCATION. State the highest school or college you attended, and the degree or diploma received, and the date received.</p>		<p>12. EXPERIENCE. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>	
<p>Full name</p> <p>Harold Hotelling</p> <p>Richard V. Gilbert</p> <p>Spurgeon Hall</p> <p>Edward Kennen</p> <p>Charles F. Moore</p>	<p>Address</p> <p>Columbia U., New York, N.Y.</p> <p>O.F.A., Tempo D., Wash., D.C.</p> <p>Nat. Resources Comm., Wash. D.C.</p> <p>Columbia U., New York, N.Y.</p> <p>Office Applied Economics, N.Y.</p>	<p>Position held at your position</p> <p>Professor</p> <p>Economist</p> <p>Economist</p> <p>Professor</p> <p>Economist</p>	<p>Start date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>End date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>Salary</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p>
<p>13. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>		<p>14. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>		<p>15. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>	
<p>From</p> <p>For</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p>	<p>Address</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p>	<p>Position held at your position</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p>	<p>Start date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>End date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>Salary</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p>
<p>16. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>		<p>17. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>		<p>18. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>	
<p>From</p> <p>For</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p>	<p>Address</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p>	<p>Position held at your position</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p>	<p>Start date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>End date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>Salary</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p>
<p>19. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>		<p>20. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>		<p>21. EDUCATION. In the space furnished below give a record of every employment, both public and private, which you have held since you first began to work. Briefly state your position and the nature of your duties and responsibilities in each about as to make your qualifications clear. Give dates when you were employed and the duration of each employment.</p>	
<p>From</p> <p>For</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p> <p>By</p>	<p>Address</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Washington, D.C.</p>	<p>Position held at your position</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p> <p>Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch</p>	<p>Start date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>End date</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p> <p>1914</p>	<p>Salary</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p> <p>\$5000</p>

If you desire to request that I should be taken into consideration for the position of Chief Clerk of the Post Office at New York, New York, please send me a letter stating the reasons for your request, and the names of the persons who are recommended for the position.

If you desire to request that I should be taken into consideration for the position of Chief Clerk of the Post Office at New York, New York, please send me a letter stating the reasons for your request, and the names of the persons who are recommended for the position.

FEELING FOR THE POST OFFICE

The following certificate must be taken before a notary public, the secretary of a United States civil service board of examiners, or other officer authorized to administer oaths, before when the applicant must appear in person. The following are among the reasons for the recommendation to administer the oath: Postmasters (except in Alaska), Army officers, post-office inspectors, and chief clerks and assistant chief clerks in the Post Office Mail Service.

The recommendation and work in connection with any material required to be submitted for this examination are entirely my own, except where I have given full credit for quoted matter or the verification of others by quotation marks and references, and in the composition of the same I have received no assistance except as indicated fully in my explanatory statement.

I, the undersigned, **DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR (OR AFFIRM)** that the statements made by me in answer to the foregoing questions are full and true to the best of my knowledge and belief. **DO NOT SIGN ANY OTHER**

If possible, please send me a letter stating the reasons for your request, and the names of the persons who are recommended for the position.

Signature of applicant

Sign WITH PEN AND INK your name and date

Victor R. R.

Subscribed and duly sworn to before me according to law by the undersigned applicant this

19 1921 at city of New York

and State for Service for District of Columbia

Signature of official

Notary Public

EXHIBIT No. 161

COPY FROM GA FORM, UNITED STATES WAR PRODUCTION BOARD

REQUEST FOR CLASSIFICATION OF POSITION

Date of request: September 7, 1944. Request No. 1590-45-5.

Office or Bureau: Bureau of Planning and Statistics.

Division or District: Office of the Director.

EMPLOYING OFFICER RECOMMENDATION

Title of position: Economist.

5. Name and title of person who supervises, assigns, reviews, and approves the work of this position: Stacy May, Director of Bureau of Planning and Statistics.

6. Supervision received: Supervision received will be general and will be discussed orally with the Director. For example, the Director will request the incumbent to act in his absence at a meeting covering reconversion problems. Also, he may orally request the preparation of reports or memoranda in regard to recommendations for policy decisions. The Director will guide the work through oral explanations of policy decisions made by the War Production Board and by the Chairman of the Board.

7. Responsibility and authority: Required to attend meetings, draft reports and memoranda covering recommendations, coordinate many aspects of reconversion programs; will have authority to determine and obtain the information required in preparing such recommendations for the Director; will act for the Director at meetings and in issuing reports, memoranda, and correspondence dealing principally with reconversion problems.

8. Employees supervised: None.

9. Description of work: The Director of the Bureau of Planning and Statistics is responsible for supplying the War Production Board with all basic statistical information on the war production program and with analyses of production problems, with all statistical information on cutbacks and reconversion, and with analyses of cutback and reconversion problems. He attends meetings of the War Production Board, and of various operating committees, and is in frequent contact with the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board. Acting as Deputy Director of the Production Executive Committee Staff, he has a large executive responsibility in the reconversion planning of the War Production Board, and in the adjustment of current cutbacks in war production programs.

The incumbent will assist the Director in the above-mentioned assignments and in many instances will handle the problems without review by the Director. The magnitude of these assignments is so great that it is imperative that the incumbent cover many of the meetings and act for the Director. He will also advise the Director on policy questions.

(1) Reviews material on major problems, discusses policy questions with appropriate officials of other bureaus of the War Production Board and of other Government agencies, reaches conclusions on nature of problems and the indicated sections and discusses these conclusions with the Director to aid him in determining the best course of action.

(2) Initiates projects to be carried out within the Bureau where special research is required in determining high policy decisions. These studies are Bureau-wide requiring central coordination for presentation to the Director. For example, to prepare for handling a proposed cutback program submitted by a military procurement agency, the incumbent would obtain from the Munitions Branch of the Statistics Division an analysis of the facilities released and determine the magnitude of the cutback in value, in labor released and in materials released; obtain from the Industry and Facilities Branch of the Statistics Division an analysis of the civilian industry capacity released and of the general availability of resources in the areas of the country affected by the proposed cutbacks; obtain from the Planning Division a statement as to the application of general War Production Board criteria for guiding cutbacks to the particular problems of the procurement agency involved.

(3) Determines, obtains, and coordinates materials required by the Director for his use in meetings and in rendering decisions. In the example discussed above, would prepare, on the basis of the work done in various divisions of the Bureau, a report embodying the recommendations of the Bureau for changes in the proposed cutback progress, suggested procedures for notification of inter-

ested parties, and explanations as to how the Bureau's proposals will advance the War Production Board's interest in promoting a smooth reconversion of industry.

(4) Acts for the Director at meetings and handles contacts with officials of other Bureaus of the War Production Board and other Government agencies as required. In the example discussed above, the incumbent would attend the meeting of the PEC subcommittee chairmanned by the Director, participate in the discussion of the proposed cutback and of the Bureau recommendations, follow up through individual conferences with responsible officers of the procurement agency, officials of the War Manpower Commission and representatives of the War Production Board Bureaus, such as the Office of the Operations Vice Chairman and the Office of Labor Production, settle differences brought out at the meeting, and arrive at a final determination to be approved at the next meeting of the subcommittee.

EXHIBIT No. 162

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

By Victor Perlo

(International Publishers, New York)

United States imperialism had special advantages in two world war. It was able to enter the wars after the other participants had fought to exhaustion, gaining thereby in relative military as well as economic strength. The tremendous demand for armaments by other powers as well as by the United States military created a huge market which provided the basis for most of the expansion in American industry since 1914. The imperialist powers of Europe suffered severe wartime physical destruction of capital and labor power, which the United States escaped. The enrichment of United States capitalists and the impoverishment of most other countries by war has been the most important single factor in the rise of American economic, financial, and military power (p. 24).

* * * * *

The rate of increase in Soviet iron production during the 1930's was twice the rate of increase in United States iron production during the 1880's and 1890's, the comparable period of American industrial growth. The superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, in speed and stability of growth, was already manifest. This provided an example to the people of the world suffering from the great depression of the 1930's. The imperialists tried to patch up their quarrels in order to join forces for an assault on the U. S. S. R. and to wipe out this example (p. 30).

* * * * *

A flood of popular hatred of United States imperialist domination is rising in the Marshall plan countries, threatening to drown the well-laid plans for completing the establishment of control over Europe, to wreck the plot to use Europe as a base for world war III (p. 149).

* * * * *

* * * The Soviet writer, M. Suslov, in an address at a meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist parties in late 1949, said:

"Despite the stream of false propaganda circulated by the imperialist aggressors and their accomplices, the common people in the United States are becoming increasingly aware that war, if unleashed by the warmongers, would bring to them, the common people, only soldiering and death in far-off countries, that war would come also to the American Continent, bringing with it the horrors of modern bombing and the destruction of the results of the labors of many generations" (p. 219).

The very forces which guarantee this result, strive by all means to avert that war. The U. S. S. R., the people's democracies, and China lead this world struggle for peace (p. 220).

* * * * *

Despite the mounting evidence that United States imperialism cannot win another world war, it strives more desperately toward that road, preferring it to the gradual losses of position which it would suffer in a world at peace. Which way will win out—peace or war? This question can be answered finally only by the people of the United States (p. 221).

* * * * *

The disintegration of the system of imperialism, of the new dream of world empire, is under way and cannot be stopped. The people of the United States can by their own actions hasten and insure the final victory of the democratic and peace-loving forces over the threat of fascism and war (p. 243).*

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further with this witness?

Mr. MORRIS. No more.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside.

(Witness excused.)

(At a subsequent hearing the following documents were ordered printed in the record at this point by the chairman.)

EXHIBIT No. 163

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington 25, D. C., May 8, 1953.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Notice to individuals: This record should be preserved. Additional copies of service histories cannot be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.

Name: Perlo, Victor.

Date of birth: May 15, 1912.

Authority for original appointment (Examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive Order, Law, or other exemption): Excepted by law—Public No. 67, June 16, 1933.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
Sept. 13, 1933.....	Excepted Appointment.....	Special Assistant, Grade 8, \$2,300G, National Recovery Administration, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 1, 1933.....	Promotion.....	Assistant Statistician, Grade 9, \$2,600G.
June 4, 1935.....	Resignation without prejudice (Transfer to Home Loan Bank).	
June 5, 1935.....	Excepted Appointment (HOLC- Act of June 13, 1933).	Assistant Statistician, Grade 9, \$2,600 per annum, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 1, 1936.....	Promotion.....	Associate Economic Analyst, Grade 11A, \$2,800 per annum.
Aug. 1, 1937.....	Promotion.....	\$3,100 per annum.
Oct. 19, 1937.....	Resignation without prejudice (Voluntary).	
Sept. 18, 1939.....	Excepted Appointment (PR 156, June 29, 1939).	Expert, \$4,600 per annum, Commerce, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D. C.
June 30, 1940.....	Discharge without prejudice.	
July 1, 1940.....	Excepted Appointment (E. O. 8044, Form 375 filed).	Senior (Senior Economic Analyst) Agent, P-5, \$4,600 per annum, Commerce, Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C.
Oct. 31, 1940.....	Resignation without prejudice.	Special Agent.
Nov. 1, 1940.....	Excepted Appointment (E. O. 8564).	Principal Economic Analyst, P-6, \$5,600 per annum, Council of National Defense Advisory Committee, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 11, 1942.....	Converted to War Service Appt. Promotion.	Head Economist, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, Office of Price Administration, Research Division, Washington, D. C.
Feb. 16, 1943.....	Separation-Transfer.	
Feb. 17, 1943.....	War Service Appointment by Transfer (Reg. IX, Sec. 2 (a)).	Head Financial Economist, P-7, \$6,500 per annum, War Production Board, Office of Production Vice Chairman, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 3, 1943.....	Reassignment.....	Head Production Progress Analyst, P-7, \$6,500 per annum.
Oct. 18, 1944.....	Intra-Division Transfer.....	Economist (Special Studies), P-7, \$6,500 per annum, War Production Board, Bureau of Planning & Statistics, Office of the Director, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 1, 1945.....	Pay Increase (Periodic).....	P-7, \$6,750 per annum.
May 1, 1945.....	Intra-Division Transfer.....	Economist (Research Coord. Staff), P-7, \$6,750 per annum, War Production Board, Bureau of Program & Statistics, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 14, 1945.....	Separation-Transfer.....	Economist (Ch. Ind. Res. Br.), P-7, \$7,437.50 per annum.
Dec. 17, 1945.....	Appointment by Transfer (WS. Reg. IX, Sec. 2 (a)).	Economic Analyst, P-7, \$7,437.50 per annum, Treasury, Division of Monetary Research, Washington, D. C.

* See letter from Mr. Perlo dated July 8, 1953, on p. 451.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
Mar. 27, 1947-----	Resignation (To accept position with Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees).	Economic Analyst, P-7, \$8,778 per annum.

NOTE.—The above transcript of service history does not include salary changes, intra-agency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report such actions to the Commission.

A. M. DEEM,
Chief, Audit Section.

EXHIBIT No. 164

NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., May 6, 1935.

MR. GEORGE E. SCOTT,
Director, Home Office, Personnel Department,
Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SCOTT: I can assure you that so far as I am concerned there is not the slightest bit of objection to your contacting Mr. Victor Perlo with a view to offering him a position. I am always happy to help members of my organization to get ahead.

Very truly yours,

T. J. KREPS,
Chief, Statistics Section.

EXHIBIT No. 165

HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION,
May 16, 1935.

Memo to: Dr. Spurgeon Bell.

From: T. B. Morrow.

Subject: Classification of proposed position, Victor Perlo.

We are returning the forms 69-A and 69-B in regard to the appointment of Victor Perlo as statistician, requested grade 10, \$2,900.

After studying his case, particularly from the standpoint of a professional position, it is our opinion that in view of Mr. Perlo's limited practical experience in this particular field, and based upon the job description shown on form 69-B, we would not be warranted in allocating this position to a higher grade than 9, with the title assistant statistician.

This is in keeping with the requirements for this type of work as set forth by the Civil Service Commission, and is applicable to this agency under Executive order.

T. B. M.

EXHIBIT No. 166

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD,
Washington, May 17, 1935.

To: Mr. Scott.

From: Spurgeon Bell.

Subject: Classification of Victor Perlo.

Mr. Morrow's report reducing the suggested classification of Victor from \$2,900 to \$2,600 has been referred to me.

Mr. Morrow states that the fact that Mr. Perlo has been employed only about 1½ years since taking his master's degree in mathematical statistics at Columbia makes it inappropriate to give him the rating of a statistician. He also speaks of being willing, in case he shows the appropriate ability, to advance him, after employment, to that figure.

Since Perlo worked with me 3 months, I know that he is a brilliant statistician having few superiors in that respect in the employ of the Government. I know that he will be doing statistical work even more responsible in character than that done by people in the Division receiving \$2,900 or more. Under those circumstances I feel compelled to recommend the \$2,900 rating.

His promotion has been due at NRA and his superior informs me that he would promote him now except for the uncertainty at NRA. The \$2,900 figure is supported by Mr. Kreps, to whom he now reports, and by me, to whom he reported before Mr. Kreps was employed in NRA.

If you feel that you can accept our estimate of the man and the type of work he will do, I shall appreciate your allowing the classification to stand at \$2,900. I think it probable that we could not secure his services for less.

SPURGEON BELL,
Director, Division of Research and Statistics.

EXHIBIT No. 167

HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION,
May 21, 1935.

Memo to: Mr. Geo. E. Scott.
From: T. B. Morrow.

I have carefully considered the comments by Dr. Bell in his memorandum to you concerning his recommendation for the appointment of Victor Perlo at grade 10, \$2,900, and our classifying the proposed position in grade 9.

In classifying the duties of a position, which is nonexistent, we cannot be guided solely by the description of duties of the proposed position, but consideration must also be given to the minimum requirements which are considered essential for the successful performance of the duties. This is particularly true with respect to professional positions. Experience in the particular field is recognized as a factor in determining whether the position should be classified in the junior, assistant, associate, or full professional grade.

The Civil Service Commission sets forth minimum requirements as to education and experience which must be met by all candidates before they are admitted to take examinations for appointments to professional positions in the classified service of the Federal Government. The Commission also imposes these same requirements as a factor to be considered in classifying positions.

Mr. Perlo is a young man 23 years of age, has the necessary educational qualifications, but has had only 1½ years' experience in statistical work with the National Recovery Administration. Whether his experience with that agency was along the same lines as the duties proposed in this recommendation is not definitely established.

Furthermore, the duties and responsibilities reflected in the job description do not establish the position as warranting a grade higher than 9. The contacting of Government agencies and commercial concerns for the required material and the other duties as outlined in the job description do not necessarily impose responsibilities greater than are ordinarily found in positions of assistant statisticians doing research work. On the basis of the information furnished, grade 9 seems to be entirely adequate.

Dr. Bell states that he is personally familiar with the qualification of Mr. Perlo, the latter having worked under his supervision for a few months in the NRA, and also that he feels the duties of the proposed position will be equivalent to the duties of other positions of his division classified above grade 9.

The Civil Service Commission requirements in this connection are very specific, both as to duties to be performed, and the minimum requirements for the incumbent. Notwithstanding Dr. Bell's comments, I do not feel, in view of the limited experience of Mr. Perlo and the fact that the duties described do not appear to warrant more than grade 9, that we would be justified in making any exception in this case.

T. B. M.

EXHIBIT No. 168

HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION,
May 22, 1935.

Memo to: Dr. Bell.
From: Mr. Geo. E. Scott.

I had a talk with Mr. Morrow regarding the classification of the position to which you want to appoint Mr. Perlo. Mr. Morrow has gone over the case again and has sent me the accompanying memorandum, indicating his adherence to the previous allocation, vis, grade 9.

A new appointee is expected to begin at the minimum of the grade to which he is appointed, which in this instance would be \$2,400; but in view of the circumstances in this case I would be willing to concur in your recommendation for the appointment of Mr. Perlo at \$2,600.

SCOTT.

EXHIBIT No. 169

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD,
Washington, May 23, 1939.

To: Mr. Zimmerman.
From: Spurgeon Bell.
Subject: Appointment of Victor Perlo.

I seem to have labored in vain with the classification man reporting to Mr. Scott in the matter of Victor Perlo's appointment at \$2,900. My recollection is that you and I agreed on the \$2,900 rate something like a year ago, but we did not go ahead with the appointment because of Perlo's wife being employed in the Government service.

Mr. Morrow's reasons for the classification seem to me to be formal and superficial. You simply cannot measure the worth of an individual in terms of years of experience and age. The detailed description of the job has been somewhat skimpy because of the fact that the work which I expect to have him do is rather varied, and I had hoped that the Personnel Division would place more reliance in my own ability to measure the worth of an expert statistician than seems to be the case. For example, I would have Perlo place the foreclosure material on an index basis. This is a job for a statistician and not for an assistant statistician. If Mr. Morrow does not know that, he is not informed in regard to the work and scope of statistical assignments. In the second place I would call on Mr. Perlo to make some difficult studies involved in the development of a new series and to put it on a valid basis for use in the Review. Moreover, there are at the present time several special problems involving the validity and comparability of material with which the Division will be called on to deal at an early date where his services could be used.

I am afraid we will lose Perlo's services either because of failure to place him on the \$2,900 basis or because of delay in securing his appointment. If you can be of assistance in expediting the matter, I shall duly appreciate it.

Of course, I expect the Personnel Division to exercise its best judgment in dealing with such matters, and further, I can see the necessity of so doing. On the other hand, the Personnel Division, I hope, will respect my right to disagree with them in regard to the value and classification of the work of an expert statistician. In other words, I believe that I am as well qualified to classify the relative importance of statistical work and the relative value of a statistician's ability as Mr. Morrow is. I am, therefore, disposed to support my classification recommendation in this case.

SPURGEON BELL,
Director, Division of Research and Statistics.

EXHIBIT No. 170

JULY 3, 1935.

DR. ISADOR LUBIN,
*Commissioner of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR DR. LUBIN: In studying our compensation plan for the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which is, as you know, a nationwide organization, we need to have additional information regarding going rates of pay, the cost of living, and related data.

In this connection I have asked our Mr. Victor Perlo to call on you and shall greatly appreciate any assistance you can give him in this study.

Very truly yours,

R. R. ZIMMERMAN,
Personnel Assistant to the Chairman.

EXHIBIT No. 171

Form 376
August 1938

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT, TRANSFER, REINSTATEMENT, OR PROMOTION, ETC.

(NONCOMPETITIVE)

Any false statement in an application, or alteration of a voucher or certificate, or presentation to the Commission of any such paper, is a violation of the law and punishable as such. All answers must be in ink or typewriting. If more space is required, an additional sheet securely fastened to this form may be used. Answers on such sheet should be numbered to correspond to questions.

GIVE DATES AND PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED IN YEARS AND MONTHS AS ACCURATELY AS POSSIBLE

1. (a) Give your name. VICTOR PERLO (b) Are you a citizen of the United States? Yes
 2. Give (a) the date of your birth May 15th 1912 (b) the place of your birth East Elizabeth, Pa. Yes or No Yes

3. Give in the blanks below a detailed statement of your education, including dates:

(a) Grammar school: Attended from September, 1918, to February, 1921 Highest grade completed 8(b) High school: Name and location Elmhurst High School, Washington, D. C. Highest grade completed 4 Were you graduated? Yes
 Attended from February, 1924, to June, 1927

Name	Location	Dates of attendance (Give month and year)		Semester- hours credit received	Major subject		Degree conferred	Date of degree
		From	To		Name	Sem. hrs. in major		
Columbia College	New York	9/27	5/31		Mathematics		A.B.	June, 1931
Columbia University Graduate School	Washington, D. C.	9/31	5/33		Mathematics		Ph.D.	Dec., 1932

Form 975
August 1938

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT, TRANSFER,
REINSTATEMENT, OR PROMOTION, ETC.
(NONCOMPETITIVE)

Rating

Application No.

The applicant will carefully fill ALL blank spaces

Position sought
(Give exact title of position or examination)

in the
(Office in which the position exists)

Present position
(if now employed) { Staff Member
(Title)
Brooklyn Institute
(Department and bureau or office)

N. B.—Applicant will write plainly full name (if a woman, stating whether Miss or Mrs.) and post-office address in the blanks below. The address here given will be treated as the applicant's post-office address until notification of change is made to the Commission in writing.

Name of Applicant } Victor Perlo

Number and Street 1025 S. Oakcrest Road

Post Office

County Arlington

State or Territory Va

Applicant will not fill the following blanks

Kind of examination

Place

Date

Application.....approved....., 19.....

By whom.....approved.....

6. If not now employed, state how long you have been unemployed
7. Have you ever been in the United States military or naval service?
(Yes or no)

8. (a) Have you ever filed an application with this Commission or its representative for any branch of the United States Government service? Yes

Name each position for which examined, or for which application was filed	In what city were you, or are you to be, examined?	Give the date of each examination (Month and year)	Did you pass? (Answer "Yes" or "No")
Assistant Agricultural Examiner	Washington	6/1/1911	Yes
Assistant Industrial Examiner	Washington	6/1/1912	No
Social Science Analyst	Washington	4/1/1918	No
Consul-Inspector in Field Labor	Washington	4/1/1919	No

I, the undersigned, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the statements made by me in answer to each and all of the foregoing questions are full and true to the best of my knowledge and belief. SO HELP ME GOD.

If female, prefix "Miss" or "Mrs."

(Signature of applicant) Victor Polo
(Sign one given name, middle initial or initials, if you have any, and your surname)

THIS APPLICATION WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED IF THE JURAT OR OATH IS OMITTED

JURAT OR OATH

[The following oath must be taken before a NOTARY PUBLIC, or other officer authorized to administer oaths for general purposes, before whom the applicant must appear in person.]

Subscribed and duly sworn to before me according to law by the above-named applicant, this 29th day of August, 1939, at city [or town] of Washington, D.C., and State [or Territory or District] of Washington, D.C.
county of Washington
(Signature of officer) Thomas J. Stearns
(Official title) Notary Public

EXHIBIT No. 172

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, August 31, 1939.

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Kerlin, Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.
Subject: Appointment to Secretary's Economic Advisory Staff.

I recommend the appointment of Mr. Victor Perlo, at a salary of \$4,000 per annum, as a member of the Secretary's Economic Advisory staff.

Mr. Perlo's appointment should be effective September 18th.

Form 375 is attached.

WILLARD L. THORP,
Economic Adviser to the Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 173

JUNE 27, 1940.

DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL:

It is directed that the following-named employees of the Office of the Secretary be transferred to the rolls of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to the positions indicated, effective July 1:

Name	Designation	Grade and salary
Don D. Humphrey.....	Special agent (principal economic analyst).	P-6, \$5,600.
Lewis V. Bassie.....	do.....	P-6, \$5,600.
Roderick H. Riley.....	do.....	P-6, \$5,600.
Victor Perlo.....	Special agent (senior economic analyst).	P-5, \$4,600.
G. Griffith Johnson, Jr.....	do.....	P-5, \$4,600.
Walter S. Salant.....	do.....	P-5, \$4,600.
Clifford J. Hynning.....	Special agent (associate economic analyst).	P-3, \$3,500.
Robert A. Solo.....	Junior economic analyst.....	P-1, \$2,000.
John B. Lindeman.....	do.....	P-1, \$2,000.
Harold H. Wein.....	do.....	P-1, \$2,000.
William B. Saunders.....	Special agent (junior economic analyst).	P-1, \$2,000.
Helen Tarosov.....	do.....	P-1, \$2,000.

M. KERLIN,
Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 174

SEPTEMBER 22, 1940.

Mr. SIDNEY SHERWOOD,
*Assistant Secretary, the Advisory Commission
to the Council of National Defense,
Federal Reserve Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SHERWOOD: The Department is in receipt of your letter of September 21, requesting that this Department make available to the Commission the services of Mr. Victor Perlo. In accordance with previous oral agreement, the Department is agreeable to the detail of Mr. Perlo to the Advisory Commission for an indefinite period, effective September 9, 1940. It is the understanding that the Department will be reimbursed in the amount of Mr. Perlo's salary, which is \$4,600 per annum.

While the Department has concurred in your request for the assignment of Mr. Perlo on a reimbursable basis, we feel, however, that if this assignment is to continue over any substantial period of time arrangements should be made for the transfer of Mr. Perlo to your payroll.

Very truly yours,

M. KERLIN,
Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 175

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1943.

In re Victor Perlo, 5707 25th Road, Arlington, Va.

Mr. CARLTON HAYWARD,

Director of Personnel, War Production Board,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAYWARD: The investigation of the above-named individual has been completed and we have been advised by the Civil Service Commission that this person has been rated eligible on suitability.

Sincerely yours,

DALLAS DORT,
Director, Division of
Central Administrative Services.
By GEO. J. GOULD.

(The following letter was ordered printed in the record by the chairman:)

FLUSHING, N. Y., July 8, 1953.

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS,

Counsel, Senate Internal Security Committee,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MORRIS: I am returning galleys 5, 6, 7, and 13 of my testimony before your committee, with minor technical corrections.

I also request that my answer to the second question on galley 14, which was interrupted by Senator Smith, be extended in the record as follows:

"Mr. SMITH. What do you mean by that?"

"Mr. PERLO. Socialism is not the Russian system of economy. Socialism is a type of economic organization of society, which has no specific nationality. Its theory was developed mainly by Germans a century ago. It has been and is advocated in all countries of the world, and it is now being carried out in the U. S. S. R., and being constructed in various other countries. Similarly, capitalism is not an American system, nor one peculiar to any nationality."

On galley 16 you include 6 extracts from my book, *American Imperialism*. I request that the following additional extracts be added to give a more rounded picture of the book's contents:

"The American people are not imperialists. The imperialists are only the tiny group of those who own and control America.

"Thus it is essential to bear in mind throughout this book that the exposures of United States imperialism or imperialists are not attacks on the United States as a nation, or on its people. On the contrary, they are directed against the ruling families of finance capital, those who have no interest in the country but to exploit it, whose 'patriotism' consists of claiming the various oceans and seas and continents as 'American'; those who look on the United States as a source of profits and a base for establishing a world empire with fire, sword, and atomic bomb" (p. 8).

"In this chapter it was shown that at least \$4 billion in extra profits were derived from the labor of the Negro people in 1948, over and above the average profits of the monopolies from the exploitation of a corresponding number of white American workers. Added to the \$7.5 billion of booty from abroad (see ch. III), this sum brings the total of American imperialist superprofits from the labor of oppressed peoples to \$11.5 billion per year" (p. 93).

"War preparations and war not only relieve the monopolies' fear of working class action against unemployment, they appease more than anything else the unlimited greed for profits.

"Preparations for a third world war are even more profitable than for World War II. This results from the general advance of reaction associated with the drive for world domination, which has weakened the class position of workers, and permitted the monopolies to increase the rate of exploitation. Corporation profits after taxes jumped from an annual average of about \$4 billion in the years 1935-39, to an annual average of about \$10 billion in the years 1941-45,

and then to an annual average of \$19 billion in the years 1947-49. The annual rate during the second half of 1950 reached \$24 billion" (pp. 230-231).

"In chapter VI it was shown how President Truman played on the desires of the American people for peace, democracy, and friendly relations with the Soviet Union in order to win elections in 1948. Two more years of unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda have not deceived the people sufficiently to erase these desires, although their expression was suppressed. The military adventures in Korea brought these latent feelings to the surface. Radio polls, letters to news-

EXHIBIT No. 176

THIS ADVICE		O.P.A. 1 (4-1-49)		ISSUING OFFICE	
February 24, 1945		EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION		Page 13	
DATE OF OFFICE		ADVISE OF PERSONNEL ACTION		Action 16995	
NAME				CIVIL SERVICE AUTHORITY	
Mario, Victor					
NATURE OF ACTION				APPROPRIATION SYMBOL	
Separation for Transfer					
EFFECTIVE DATE				DATE OF BIRTH	
February 16, 1945 e.o.b.				May 15, 1912	
DESIGNATION	FROM	TO	LEGAL RESIDENCE		
POSITION	Head Economist				
GRADE & SALARY	Title Code #220 P-7 \$6500 per annum		SEX		
OFFICE			NATURE OF POSITION		
DIVISION	Research Division		NEW VICE A		
SECTION	Statistical Analysis Branch		NAME REFERENCE		
UNIT	Office of the Chief Section		CIVIL SERVICE POSITION NO.		
HEADQUARTERS	Section Code #375		DATE ALLOCATED		
DEPARTMENTAL OR FIELD	Washington, D. C.		ALLOTMENT		
POSITION NO.	Departmental				
REMARKS					
Transferred to War Production Board, Washington, D. C.					
<div style="text-align: right;">161 17510 W</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> SERVICE RECORD CARD FORWARDED FILED CHECKED FILED DATE DATE DATE </div>					
<small>APPOINTMENTS TO POSITIONS ARE MADE FOR SUCH PERIOD OF TIME AS THE WORK IS REQUIRED AND FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE. NEW APPOINTMENTS ARE SUBJECT TO CHARACTER INVESTIGATION. YOU ARE SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE RETIREMENT ACT. THIS DOCUMENT MAY NOT BE USED AS A BASIS FOR THE ASSERTION OF ANY AUTHORITY OR FOR A CLAIM OF ANY PRIVILEGES AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION.</small>					
EMPLOYING OFFICER			PERSONNEL OFFICER		
			<i>Harold O. Harner</i>		

papers and officials make it clear that the overwhelming majority of the American people want peace.

"Our country will be saved neither by Truman nor by Hoover; but only by a great and representative peace mobilization. World war can be prevented by a massing of popular forces for preservation and extension of the rights of the American people; against the attempts of United States imperialism to maintain capitalism in all countries where the people are working for a better society; against the attempts of Wall Street to maintain colonialism where the people are waging struggles of national liberation; for the principle of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, of socialism and capitalism" (p. 243).

Yours sincerely,

VICTOR PERLO.

EXHIBIT No. 177

FORM GA-5 19-21		UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAR PRODUCTION BOARD		DATE WRITTEN March 13, 1943	
RECOMMENDATION FOR FILLING POSITION				PROPOSED EFFECTIVE DATE When approved by CSC	
PREPARE TWO COPIES. RETAIN THE SECOND COPY. FIRST COPY, AFTER APPROVAL, IS FORWARDED TO PERSONNEL BRANCH.				THE SPACES IN THIS BLOCK RESERVED FOR USE BY THE PERSONNEL BRANCH.	
NAME OF CANDIDATE OR EMPLOYEE Victor Perlo		CLASS OF INVESTIGATION REQUESTED (CHECK ONE) A B C		EMPLOYEE NO. 17-04667	
NATURE OF ACTION Intraoffice transfer				EFFECTIVE DATE 4-3-43	
THE SPACES BELOW ARE TO BE FILLED IN FOR A RECOMMENDATION INVOLVING A TRANSFER (EITHER WITHIN THE BOARD OR FROM ANOTHER FEDERAL AGENCY), PROMOTION, REINSTATEMENT, OR REAPPOINTMENT.		THE SPACES BELOW ARE TO BE FILLED IN FOR ANY RECOMMENDATION FOR FILLING A POSITION REGARDLESS OF THE NATURE OF THE ACTION.		CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER AUTHORITY Civil Service Letter of 10-6-41	
FROM		TO			
TITLE OF POSITION Head Financial Economist		TITLE OF POSITION Head Production Progress Analyst		APPROPRIATION REGULAR	
GRADE AND RATE OF PAY P-7 \$6,500		GRADE AND RATE OF PAY P-7 \$6,500			
CSC NO. P-7-268 1-29-43		CSC NO. P-7-71 3-23-43			
OFFICE OR FEDERAL AGENCY War Production Board		OFFICE War Production Board		DATE OF BIRTH May 15, 1912	
BUREAU		BUREAU		NATURE OF POSITION NEW VICE I.A.	
DIVISION Ofc. of Prod. Vice Chairman		DIVISION Ofc. of Exec. Vice Chairman		NAME REFERENCE Vacancy (I.A. Vac.) 2-20-42 EK.	
BRANCH Office of Progress Reports		BRANCH Office of Progress Reports		CHECKED BY Adela M. Farnsworth	
SECTION		SECTION		DATE 3-26-43 453-69-1	
UNIT		UNIT		ALLOTMENT NO. 4500	
OFFICIAL STATION Washington, D. C.		OFFICIAL STATION Washington, D. C.		POSITION NO. 453-69	
DEPARTMENTAL I FIELD		DEPARTMENTAL I FIELD		GA-3 OR GA-75 REFERENCE	
JUSTIFICATION OF RECOMMENDED ACTION With the resignation of Richard L. Funkhouser and the induction into the Army of Kurt Wagenknecht, we have found it necessary to assign Mr. Perlo to the Aircraft Unit. H53-37-1				RECOMMENDED BY R. Joseph Meehan EMPLOYING OFFICER	
IT IS CERTIFIED THAT THIS EMPLOYEE WILL PERFORM THE MAJOR PORTION OF HIS WORK FOR THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD IN Washington D. C. STATE				APPROVED BY ADMIN. SERVICE OFFICE PK DATE 2-6-43	
THIS SPACE RESERVED FOR PERSONNEL BRANCH					

MAR 26 1943

not to be posted
off chs 4
FILE
MAR 29 1943
43-9280
RECORD CONTROL

146
85
W

MAR 23 1943

(1919)—War Board 1138—p. 1

EXHIBIT No. 178

Standard Form No. 51, Rev.
Approved Dec. 1943
C. S. C. Dept. Cir. No. 468

Form approved 1600
Robert Bureau No. 36-3012
Approved expires Mar. 30, 1945.

REPORT OF EFFICIENCY RATING

ADMINISTRATIVE-UNOFFICIAL ()
OFFICIAL:
REGULAR (☒) SPECIAL ()
PROBATIONAL or TRIAL PERIOD ()

As of **MAR 31 1943** based on performance during period from **4-1-44** to **MAR 8 1 1945**

Perlo, Victor Economist P-7 \$6750
(Name of employee) (Title of position, service, and grade)

Program and Statistics Office of Director
(Organization—Indicate bureau, division, section, unit, field station)

<p>ON LINES BELOW MARK EMPLOYEE</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> if adequate</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> if weak</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> if outstanding</p>	<p>1. Study the instructions in the Rating Official's Guide, C. S. C. Form No. 3823A.</p> <p>2. Underline the elements which are especially important in the position.</p> <p>3. Rate only on elements pertinent to the position.</p> <p>a. Do not rate on elements in <i>italics</i> except for employees in administrative, supervisory, or planning positions.</p> <p>b. Rate administrative, supervisory, and planning functions on elements in <i>italics</i>.</p>	<p>CHECK ONE:</p> <p>Administrative, supervisory, or planning..... <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>All others..... <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>
---	---	--

- (1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments.
- (2) Mechanical skill.
- ☒ (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures.
- (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work).
- ☒ (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments.
- (6) Attention to pertinent detail.
- (7) Accuracy of operations.
- ☒ (8) Accuracy of final results.
- ☒ (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions.
- ☒ (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts.
- ☒ (11) Industry.
- ☒ (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments.
- (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark based on production records?.....) (Yes or no)
- ☒ (14) Ability to organize his work.
- (15) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others.
- (16) Cooperativeness.
- ☒ (17) Initiative.
- ☒ (18) Resourcefulness.
- ☒ (19) Dependability.
- (20) Physical fitness for the work.

- (21) Effectiveness in planning broad programs.
- (22) Effectiveness in adapting the work program to broader or related programs.
- (23) Effectiveness in devising procedures.
- (24) Effectiveness in laying out work and establishing standards of performance for subordinates.
- (25) Effectiveness in directing, reviewing, and checking the work of subordinates.
- (26) Effectiveness in instructing, training, and developing subordinates in the work.
- (27) Effectiveness in promoting high working morale.
- (28) Effectiveness in determining space, personnel, and equipment needs.
- (29) Effectiveness in setting and obtaining adherence to time limits and deadlines.
- (30) Ability to make decisions.
- (31) Effectiveness in delegating clearly defined authority to act.

STATE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED

- (A)
- (B)
- (C)

STANDARD
Deviations must be explained on reverse side of this form

Plus marks on all underlined elements, and no minus marks.....

Plus marks on at least half of the underlined elements, and no minus marks.....

Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and any minus marks overcompensated by plus marks.....

Check marks or better on a majority of underlined elements, and minus marks not overcompensated by plus marks.....

Minus marks on at least half of the underlined elements.....

Adjective rating

Excellent

Good

Fair

Unsatisfactory

Rating official E

Reviewing official E

.....

.....

Rated by Victor Perlo V. Perlo's Office (Signature of rating official) (Title)

Reviewed by Victor Perlo Dir. Program & Statistics 4-17-45 (Signature of reviewing official) (Title) (Date)

Rating approved by efficiency rating committee APR 30 1945 Report to employee EXCELLENT (Date) (Adjective rating)

checked
5-17
arc

EXHIBIT No. 178A

*Mr. Basie who was Mr. Bal's
Previous Supervisor helped
in ascertaining the rating.*

EXHIBIT No. 179

SEPTEMBER 21, 1944.

Re Position No. 15905-5-1.

Catherine M. Gridler, senior personnel technician.

Louis B. Gettman, personnel technician.

This position is located in the immediate office of the Director of the Bureau of Planning and Statistics. An interview with the Director, Mr. Stacy May (P-8) revealed that the incumbent will serve as his personal, all-round assistant, but will have no final authority to act or make decision. He will be given a variety of special spot and nonrecurring assignments requiring broad substantive training, mature judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the organization, operations, and policies of the War Production Board, and, more particularly, the Bureau of Planning and Statistics. His assignments will be varied and include such things as "sitting in" for Mr. May on the PEC staff committee and subcommittee meetings for the purpose of keeping his superior informed of the problems considered and decisions reached; investigating congressional top side WPB or other agencies' requests for data or reports, determining what data should be supplied and how, assembling and integrating the data and preparing the overall report; and making special overall studies as requested by the Director and presenting recommendations based thereon, complete with justification, for the Director's final determination.

Mr. May stated specifically that the position was not to be considered as a deputy or an operating assistant where decision of an operating or bureauwide nature would be made. In view of these facts it is my recommendation that this position be allocated not higher than P-7.

EXHIBIT No. 180

Treasury Department
Division of Monetary Research

Date..... 1945

To: Mrs. Hall

From: Mr

Mr. Coe has sent the attached
note to Mr. White. He asked me to
tell you to "keep him on ice" -
nothing doing now.

EXHIBIT No. 180A

Treasury Department
Division of Monetary Research

Date _____ 19__

TO *Walter*
FROM *Carlo*

Mr. Cae talk with Cae about -
W.P.B.
Bureau of Program &
Statistics - P-7-750
Economist

*Mr. Cae wants
to hire -*

139

EXHIBIT No. 180B

Treasury Department
Division of Monetary ResearchDate March 6, 1945 19

To: Mr. White

From: Mr. Coe

Perlo can't get free at WPS. A lot of program work for which he has been responsible has to be finished up by him. We have agreed to take the matter up again in two or three months if there is any opening here.

Mr. Coe
2/1/45

EXHIBIT No. 181

C.C.13

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONNEL RECOMMENDATION

PAGE:

TO DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

Date November 13, 1945

Name: Parlo, VictorFrom: Division of Monetary Research
(BUREAU OR DIVISION)

Bureau No:

Nature of Recommendation

Appointment by transfer

	FROM	TO
Position	<i>Chief Economist</i>	Economic Analyst
Grade	P-7	P-7
Salary	\$7475 per annum <i>\$7437.50</i>	\$7475 per annum <i>\$7437.50 per M.S. Mon. Res.</i>
Bureau or Div.	Civilian Production Adm.	Division of Monetary Research
Organizational Subdivisions	Industrial Analyses Branch	
Headquarters	Washington, D.C.	Washington, D.C.
Post of Duty	Washington, D.C.	Washington, D.C.
Appropriation		Exchange Stabilization Fund
Allotment		
Field or Deptl.	Departmental	Departmental

EFFECTIVE
Remarks:*December 17, 1945*

Character investigation is in process; appointment recommended subject to favorable report thereon.

Justification.

Services required.

APPROVED

W. B. Lee
Acting Secretary*M. G. Lee**W. B. Lee**F. C. Lee*
Bureau or Division Head

CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY	
<i>Rept. 11-11-45</i>	
<i>W. S. Ry. IX</i>	
<i>See 2.0</i>	
APPROPRIATION	
ESFR	
DATE OF BIRTH	
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LEGAL RESIDENCE	
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85
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SUBJECT TO RETIREMENT ACT
yes
DATE OF OATH

EXHIBIT No. 182

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
DIVISION OF MONETARY RESEARCH,
Washington, March 21, 1947.

Mr. ORVIS SCHMIDT,
*Acting Director, Division of Monetary Research,
Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SCHMIDT: As you know, I have been offered the post of Treasurer of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and have accepted this challenging assignment, so I regretfully submit my resignation from the Treasury. I have enjoyed my work and associations with you and Mr. Glasser and the members of the Division and hope I may keep in touch with you in the future. My resignation becomes effective March 27, 1947.

Very truly yours,

VICTOR PERLO.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have another witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; Mr. Byfield.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Byfield, will you hold up your right hand and be sworn?

Do you swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BYFIELD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT S. BYFIELD, UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE TO THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you spell your name, B-y-f-i-e-l-d?

Mr. BYFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you Robert S. Byfield?

Mr. BYFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. BYFIELD. I reside in New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a member of the New York Stock Exchange?

Mr. BYFIELD. I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you the United Nations representative of the New York Stock Exchange?

Mr. BYFIELD. I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you describe the nature of your duties as such, Mr. Byfield?

Mr. BYFIELD. My duties as such are to attend various meetings of the General Assembly and various of its committees when they are in session, principally the Second or Economic Committee, and meetings of the Economic and Social Council, and report thereon to the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been acting in that capacity?

Mr. BYFIELD. I acted in that capacity in Paris at the sixth session of the General Assembly from approximately the 4th of November until late in December, and I am acting in that capacity now during the present session of the Seventh General Assembly.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Byfield, have you been a student of Marx and Lenin and the fundamental works of the Communist international writers?

Mr. BYFIELD. I have, since 1919.

Mr. MORRIS. You had an experience back in those days, did you not, that brought you to an acquaintance with these political problems that we have been discussing?

Mr. BYFIELD. While an officer in the United States Army and attached to the staff of Herbert Hoover, I was sent to eastern Slovakia in the course of duty and thereupon was taken prisoner by the Red army of Bela Kun.

Mr. MORRIS. How long were you imprisoned by the Red army of Bela Kun?

Mr. BYFIELD. I was held in custody once for 2 days and once for a longer period a few weeks thereafter. Subsequently I was in the territory of the Hungarian Soviet Government.

Mr. MORRIS. That experience has given you an awakening of the Communist international organization?

Mr. BYFIELD. I saw at close range how the Communists controlled the Hungarian Red army, forced it to attack the Czechoslovak Army at that time. There were civilian commissars who had been trained in Russia attached to each regiment and each battalion in the Red army.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Byfield, we have been discussing here this morning—I think you attended the testimony of Mr. Perlo—a volume called American Imperialism by Mr. Victor Perlo. In your duties as U. N. representative of the New York Stock Exchange, have you encountered that book?

Mr. BYFIELD. Yes; I have. I bought it in 1951 after it was published. I am thoroughly familiar with its contents. I am thoroughly familiar with the place that it holds with other volumes of a similar nature. That was one of my jobs, to study that volume, and its companions, and to interpret the sentiments and the philosophy of these volumes as they impinge upon American free enterprise, and particularly upon those corporations whose shares are listed on the New York Stock Exchange which have large foreign investments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Byfield, you heard this morning that the People's Daily World, a Communist publication on the west coast, described this whole volume as in the nature of bringing Karl Marx and Lenin down to date. I think that was the general description given by the Daily People's World. You mentioned companion books. Will you tell us what books you refer to?

Mr. BYFIELD. If I may explain that at some length, International Publishers, New York, which I understood from the testimony here was an affiliate of the Communist Party, U. S. A., published a volume called Monopoly Today. I believe that was published in 1950 by the Labor Research Association. The date is important, because on page 102 of that volume, which I have here in my hand, the writers of that volume apparently were aware that Mr. Perlo was going to publish a book a year later because it refers to the progress of imperialistic expansion, "as having been described in Lenin's Imperialism, in Rulers of America, by Anna Rochester, and more recently in Victor Perlo's forthcoming book on imperialism and American expansion."

Apparently there was some advance knowledge of Mr. Perlo's book, and Mr. Perlo's book is in fact a successor to the foregoing volumes, carrying forward the same ideology and philosophy in its attack on American business, particularly in its international aspects. Subsequently this book was carried on and referred to by this petition which was filed with the United Nations.

On or about the 1st of December 1951 a copy of this petition was placed on the desk of the Chief Delegate of the United States, Ambassador Austin.

Mr. MORRIS. When you say "this petition," will you describe it?

Mr. BYFIELD. This is a petition which is called *We Charge Genocide*, a petition to the United Nations prepared by the Civil Rights Congress, copyright 1951. It purports to indicate through a highly developed form of specious reasoning and upside-down language that the prime mover of the mammoth and deliberate conspiracy to commit genocide against the Negro people in the United States is monopoly capital.

In other words, this is a strange and bizarre attempt to lay blame whatever the conditions of the Negro people in the United States, not upon the people among whom they live but rather upon what they call Wall Street.

In doing that, they cite a great many things from Mr. Perlo's book and on page 135 it cites a whole page taken from Mr. Perlo's book.

It calls it "authoritative study, the original base of Wall Street superprofits" and it goes on page after page about Mr. Perlo and his "excellent" findings.

In other words, there has been a process here of taking in each other's washing in order to complete this chain of literary incest, perhaps along the same lines as the California citation that you made. Rather than my attempting to characterize this book, it has already been done by a man named Doxey Wilkerson who may be known to your committee.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a witness before this committee.

Mr. BYFIELD. In the issue of April 1952 of *Political Affairs*, which in my opinion is the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and into which all good Communists in the United States must look for guidance, help, and suggestions, there is a very deep analysis of American imperialism on page 61 and the following four pages. The praise is beyond description. There are the usual criticisms, but if anyone is conversant with the language of communism those criticisms are merely a symbol or a signal to Communists all over to continue this work in aspects which Mr. Perlo has perhaps failed to emphasize.

If you want me to——

Mr. MORRIS. We do not need that. Your reference is fine. We do want to hear more though about this genocide charge.

Mr. BYFIELD. Well, this is only one piece of evidence that this book *American Imperialism*, in my opinion, its predecessor, *Monopoly Today*, and a 1952 volume which apparently is the successor volume to Mr. Perlo, written by a man by the name of James S. Allen, entitled "*Atomic Imperialism*," plus another predecessor by William Z. Foster called *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, formed the literary brain trust for information concerning the American business system which is apparently sent from America to the Kremlin and analyzed by the Kremlin and sent back to the Iron Curtain delegates at the United Nations and used by them in propagandistic attempts to discredit American business throughout the world.

In other words, there is a definite thread in reading hundreds of these pages and listening to hundreds of speeches in the United Nations. There is a definite thread from 12th Street in Manhattan, the

headquarters of the party, to the Kremlin, back to the Palais de Chaillot where the U. N. was in session last year, or back to the United Nations, a kind of modernized "Tinkers to Evers to Chance."

Mr. MORRIS. Have you so reported this in your official reports to Ambassador Lodge and Ambassador Austin?

Mr. BYFIELD. I have.

Mr. MORRIS. And what form did your report take?

Mr. BYFIELD. I made a report in 1952 to the president of the New York Stock Exchange, Mr. G. K. Funston, which I understand was forwarded to the Ambassador. I made a report dated January 20, 1953, to Mr. Funston, which I understand was also forwarded to Ambassador Lodge outlining this whole thing, particularly in its economic aspects, which was my particular job.

Mr. MORRIS. In that report, do you mention these volumes?

Mr. BYFIELD. I mention Mr. Perlo's volume. I mention all of these volumes and I mention the pertinent references in the long-term classics of the Communist Party going back to about 1912.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that report, at least those pertinent sections of the report that relate to our investigation, be submitted into our record at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be submitted and made a part of our record.

(The information referred was marked "Exhibit No. 183" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 183

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 20, 1953.*

Mr. G. KEITH FUNSTON,
President, New York Stock Exchange,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR KEITH: Herewith is my report as United Nations representative of the New York Stock Exchange. It covers the first half of the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly which recessed for a 2-month period on December 22. As in the case of its predecessor covering the Sixth General Assembly, it deals with those economic and financial matters which I believed to be of interest to the exchange.

Because of my deep conviction that some very fundamental principles of a free economy were involved in the U. N. debates and parliamentary decisions, I have included a considerable amount of detail and pertinent documentation.

It was a privilege for me to be associated with Dr. W. W. Cumberland, the alternate representative of the Exchange, and a self-explanatory letter from him is attached. His criticisms and suggestions were extremely helpful, and besides having the benefit of his seasoned judgment, I drew liberally upon his long experience in international matters.

With kindest regards, I am,

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT S. BYFIELD.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 19, 1953.*

Mr. G. KEITH FUNSTON,
President, New York Stock Exchange,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. FUNSTON: This letter will accompany a report which is being forwarded to you by Robert S. Byfield, nongovernmental organization representative of the New York Stock Exchange to the United States Mission to the United Nations.

While Mr. Byfield very courteously invited me to sign his report, and while it is true that I have examined this report and made certain suggestions which Mr. Byfield has accepted, it is none the less a fact that Mr. Byfield has really done the work, and I should not feel comfortable in being a joint signer of a report which is in reality the work of another.

However, I am in close agreement with Mr. Byfield's findings and recommendations and consider that he has done an outstanding job for the New York Stock Exchange.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. W. CUMBERLAND.

SUMMARY

This report is concerned with the debates, resolutions, and actions of the first half of the Seventh Session of the U. N. General Assembly with respect to certain economic, financial, and investment matters.

Resolution III of the report of the Second Committee, envisaging international planning for the support of raw material commodity prices, was adopted by the General Assembly 35 to 15, with the United States voting no. This involves restrictive, Socialist concepts in the international field.

Resolution VI validated the right of U. N. members to nationalize wealth and resources, but failed to protect the rights and interests of investors. It was adopted 36 to 4, with the United States voting no.

The adoption of these resolutions, particularly the latter, constituted a serious diplomatic defeat both for the United States and for the principles of a free economy, and starkly outlined the parliamentary weakness of our position.

The reaction in the press, on the part of business groups and of the public generally in the United States was extremely unfavorable.

The debates in the Second Committee and in the plenary meetings indicated strong Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist influences and made clear that most underdeveloped countries desire the fruits of capitalism without displaying a willingness to accept capitalist disciplines or to adopt a capitalist mode of production.

The ability of the Soviet group to utilize the U. N., its committees and its specialized agencies as a sounding board for its international propaganda was again demonstrated.

A drastic reorientation of the economic and social phases of our defense strategy must be formulated with effective liaison and coordination at all levels. Adequate and trained personnel are imperative. The initiative should be seized and held.

REPORT TO NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE ON THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The first part of the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations convened on October 14 and recessed on December 22, 1952. Summary of its work is contained in press release GA/1000 of the U. N. Department of Public Information. Debates of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly appear in the verbatim records ending with No. 411 of December 21-22, 1952. Our chief interest, as in the case of the Sixth Session, centered in the work of the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) which is outlined and summarized in its Report attached herewith as Appendix A.¹ For identification this document bears the U. N. No. A-2332 of December 18 and comprises General Assembly agenda item 25.

This report offered the following seven draft resolutions to the General Assembly all of which were adopted at its final meeting:

Resolution I: Expanded programme of technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

Resolution II: Financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries.

A. Establishment of a special fund for grants-in-aid, for low interest long term loans, etc.

B. Establishment of an international finance corporation.

C. Request to the Secretary General for a report analyzing the international flow of private capital and the reasons for the continued inadequacy of such investment in underdeveloped countries.

Resolution III. Financing of economic development through the establishment of fair and equitable international prices for primary commodities and through the execution of national programmes of integrated economic development.

¹ Not printed.

Resolution IV: Migration and economic development.

Resolution V: Land Reform.

Resolution VI: Right to exploit freely national wealth and resources.

Resolution VII: Activities of regional economic commissions and economic development of underdeveloped countries.

The report of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was also adopted. Chapter II dealing with economic and financial matters won approval without a dissenting vote. Other than noting this fact, which included affirmative action by the United States delegation, we have no further comment, since we do not believe its contents or significance are within the scope of this report.

While all of the above resolutions and the parliamentary activity leading up to their adoption, as well as explanatory statements made after the balloting, are of general interest, we have confined our comments in this report to Resolutions II, Section C; III; and VI.

COMMENTS ON RESOLUTION II, SECTION C

In some respects the passage of this item is little short of fantastic. There can hardly be any doubt about the importance of stimulating the international flow of private capital to the underdeveloped countries, nor can there be any mystery whatsoever as to why the flow of such capital is not yet adequate to cover the needs of the underdeveloped countries. Dozens of first-class studies already exist and are readily available. Thousands of pages have been written about it. The formula for attracting capital has been tested and proven over the last 150 years. Such capital, among other things, must possess the right of entry and exit; the local currency should be stable and honest; taxes should be reasonable and nondiscriminatory; and there should be protection against local violence. The foreign owner of capital should have the same right of management as is accorded domestic capital, which includes right to use the best combination of raw materials, labor, and techniques. The Secretary-General in preparing his report on this item need do little more than hand back to the delegates a transcript of their own debates and balloting with respect to Resolution VI mentioned hereinafter. Unless these delegates acknowledge that fear of nationalization or competition with the government is the greatest deterrent to foreign investment, they will be wasting the time of the Secretary General and themselves.

COMMENTS ON RESOLUTION III

On account of its length and the fact that it is fully set forth in the attached report of the Second Committee, we will not spell out the exact wording of Resolution III herewith. It was adopted by the General Assembly 35 votes to 15 with 9 abstentions. The noes included, besides the United States, Great Britain, and the Dominions, the Scandinavian countries, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Pakistan. The abstentions comprised the Soviet bloc and a few others. The resolution obviously envisages the setting up of an international price scheme for supporting commodity prices. It would seek to correct maladjustments resulting from cyclical fluctuations of the prices of individual primary commodities. The case for the passage of this resolution was clearly stated by the Indonesian delegate who argued that the least developed countries were dependent upon foreign demand for selling their raw materials. The prices of such raw materials have a high sensitiveness, and the present world market is smaller than it potentially could be. He mentioned that certain consumers of raw materials occupied a strong position vis-a-vis the countries supplying raw materials. He was supported by the delegate from Saudi Arabia, who was in favor of an "equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials and finished products." Strong support to Resolution III was given by the delegate from Argentina, who mentioned "the imbalance between poverty and riches that beset the peace and security of humanity." He praised the goal of price stabilization.

The case against the resolution was well stated by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the delegate of Great Britain. While he agreed that fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities were harmful, he did not believe there was a universal remedy but that each commodity should be looked on separately in the light of the special conditions surrounding it. He called attention to the impossibility of relating hundreds of different commodities and goods produced in different places and under different conditions. He wisely pointed out that if a relationship could be found it could be maintained only by government control of production, government allocation of materials, and government price controls

for all important goods moving in international trade. It is quite evident that Resolution III would take us away from the liberal concepts of freer trade, fewer restrictions, greater production, and higher standards.

Mr. de Seynes, delegate from France, explained his negative vote by warning the Assembly that there was danger of over-estimating the results of governmental action in the price field. Perhaps, he surmised, countries where private enterprise was very active were being invited to change their institutions completely or perhaps even their constitutions so as to be able to follow a policy tantamount to international planning.

At no time in the discussion of price-fixing devices was there any reference to the function of the competitive price mechanism, so far as we are aware. It was apparently accepted without argument that governments can and should control commodity prices, with no recognition of the function of competitive markets and free commodity prices in governing what is produced, the amount produced, where production takes place, and who enjoys the results of production. In other words, the socialist rather than the free-enterprise conception of prices constituted the entire basis of the debate.

PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO RESOLUTION VI

It will serve no purpose to comment further upon Resolution III except to repeat that it provides instances of the type of collectivistic thinking in the economic field in which many of the members of the U. N. are indulging. In a sense it furnishes a prologue or perhaps a means of understanding more expeditiously the events leading up to and following the adoption of the very controversial Resolution VI, the full final text of which is as follows:

"General Assembly—

"Bearing in mind the need for encouraging the underdeveloped countries in the proper use and exploitation of their natural wealth and resources,

"Considering that the economic development of the underdeveloped countries is one of the fundamental requisites for the strengthening of universal peace,

"Remembering that the right of people freely to use and exploit their national wealth and resources is inherent in their sovereignty and is in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"1. Recommends all Member States, in the exercise of their right freely to use and exploit their national wealth and resources wherever deemed desirable by them for their own progress and economic development, to have due regard, consistently with their sovereignty, to the need for *maintaining the flow of capital in conditions of security*, mutual confidence, and economic cooperation between nations.

"2. Further recommends that all Member States to refrain from acts, direct or indirect, designed to impede the exercise of the sovereignty of any State over its natural resources."

The amendment offered by India substituted the nine words italicized in operative paragraph 1 above for the words "the maintenance of" and was passed by the General Assembly 39 votes to 5 with 16 abstentions. In our opinion, it merely softened the blow somewhat. It was a sop, but a minor sop, and in no sense a corrective. The Soviet bloc comprised the noes, and the abstentions included the United States, Great Britain, and, interestingly enough, two Latin American countries, Cuba and Peru. The resolution in final form passed 36 to 4 with 20 abstentions. Here the noes included Great Britain, South Africa, and New Zealand in addition to the United States. The Soviet bloc naturally voted in the affirmative. It is important to note that the following so-called underdeveloped countries abstained: Cuba, Haiti, Israel, Nicaragua, Peru, Philippines, Turkey, and Venezuela. Other abstentions comprised Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden.

We feel it is important first to present something of the history of this Resolution, the adoption of which constituted, in our opinion, a serious diplomatic defeat for the United States.

On November 5 the delegate of Uruguay submitted a draft resolution which sought to reaffirm the right of each state fully to exploit its national wealth and resources (Document A/C 2/L 165 with subsequent corrigenda 1, 2, and 3). Many delegates thought it was more or less out of place in the Second Committee, according to Mr. Haliq, the delegate of Saudi Arabia, who acted as Rapporteur, for the right of economic self-determination is inherent in the sovereign rights and acts of each Member State. This was not disputed by any of the members, including the United States. The delegate of Bolivia proposed

an amendment (Document A/C 2/L 166) which was considered to be unwise and unfavorable by some countries which had been sources of private capital for the underdeveloped areas. At that point it became known as the Uruguayan-Bolivian Joint Draft Resolution (Document A/C 2/L 165/Rev. 1, December 8). Subsequently the delegate of Uruguay stated that he was prepared to accept an amendment incorporating the principle of just compensation. The matter was fully debated in the Second Committee during the first part of December by 39 delegates, including some who took the floor more than once. The United States delegate, Dr. Isador Lubin, offered four amendments which were eventually rejected, including the following, on which the vote was "Yes," 15; "No," 27; abstentions, 8:

"* * * that countries deciding to develop their natural wealth and resources should refrain from taking action contrary to the applicable principles of international law and practice and to the provisions of international agreements, against the rights or interests of nationals of other Member States in the enterprise, skills, capital, arts, or technology which they have supplied."

The Resolution as a whole without, of course, the United States amendments, was passed 31 to 1 with 19 abstentions, the United States casting the sole negative vote. After the balloting, which took place on December 11th, 24 speakers rose to explain their votes, including Dr. Lubin who attacked the resolution as one-sided and ill-balanced. Copy of his statement, identified as press release No. 1611, is attached as Appendix B.¹ He stressed that the rights of private investors and the responsibilities of governments to private investors were ignored and there was no mention of compensation or reimbursement in the event of nationalization. His views were generally reinforced by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd of Great Britain, Mr. Stahl of Sweden, Mr. Jonker of the Netherlands, Mr. Madrigal of the Philippines, and Mr. Perry of New Zealand. They reminded the delegates that passage of the resolution would deter and adversely affect the flow of foreign private capital into the underdeveloped countries and thereby defeat one of the most important objectives of the United Nations in the economic field.

We have several observations which appear to be pertinent and to which we should like to direct attention. The Second Committee had a communist chairman, Mr. Nosek of Czechoslovakia. Dr. Lubin's amendments did not go far enough. There was no mention of or insistence on prompt, adequate and effective compensation in the event of nationalization. Insistence upon a formula of this character is rendered doubly necessary because of the danger that underdeveloped countries might wish to nationalize industries or extractive undertakings which provide the major source of their national income. If the principle were established that compensation must be synchronized with seizure rather than postponed unilaterally by the expropriating government, the latter might find it less desirable to act precipitously. The parliamentary weakness of the U. S. position was starkly evident. We were not even permitted to present our case fully. As Dr. Lubin pointed out, the debate was arbitrarily choked off.

PUBLIC REACTION TO RESOLUTION VI

Beginning on December 12th and continuing for about a week thereafter the action of the Second Committee was mentioned and discussed in the New York press. There was considerable editorial comment. The original story in the New York Times carried the headline: "U. S. loses U. N. test on investor rights—effort to protect private funds from nationalization moves beaten in Committee." The Herald Tribune headlines were: "U. S. is lone 'No' in U. N. fight on nationalizing—there is neglect of investors as plan backing right to nationalize wins, 31-1." The Wall Street Journal on December 16th in an editorial entitled "Flying the Jolly Roger" criticized the U. N. action as "international brigandage" and some days later one of its commentators called attention to the moral as well as the economic aspect of the action under the headline: "Honesty Got One Vote—the U. S. Stood Alone in U. N. Voting on the Protection of Foreign Capital From Seizure Without Compensation." The financial editor of the New York World-Telegram scathingly criticized the U. N. action, calling it a raw deal. He asked why the U. S. delegation to the U. N. did not attract the attention of the American public to what was going on in the Committee. He indicated that Dr. Lubin was "almost apologetic in his opposition."

¹ Not printed.

Letters of protest or public statements were issued by various business organizations, such as the New York Stock Exchange, the NAM, the National Foreign Trade Council, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Press release of the Exchange containing letter of Mr. Funston to Ambassador Austin head of the U. S. Mission to the U. N. is attached as Appendix C,¹ and the reply of Ambassador Austin to Mr. Funston comprises Appendix D.¹

We see no reason for any further discussion on our part of either the comment of the press or the content of the protests on behalf of interested groups as their reactions were obvious, definite, uniformly unfavorable and deeply significant. They are matters of public record.

MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND PROPAGANDA IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD

Some of the news stories and press editorial comments indicated that the Soviet Union was the sole victor as a result of the passage of Resolution VI, known as the "Nationalization Resolution." As a practical matter, we fully agreed with this view; but for a realization of the true significance of the debates and speeches having to do with this subject, it is necessary to examine somewhat closely into the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist background in the international field.

The basic work of Lenin dealing with this subject was written in 1916 and bears the title: "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." In the chapter entitled, "The Export of Capital," he states:

"As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will never be used for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists; it will be used for the purpose of increasing those profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap.

"The necessity for exporting capital arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become overripe and (owing to the backward state of agriculture and the impoverished state of the masses) capital cannot find 'profitable' investment."

In his chapter entitled: "Imperialism in History," he states:

"* * * monopoly has grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous old motives of colonialism, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for spheres of influence, i. e., for spheres of profitable deals, concessions, monopolistic profits and so on * * * for economic territory in general."

As do many of the other Communist leaders, William Z. Foster, of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in his *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, published in 1949, carries forward the basic ideas of Lenin and Stalin with respect to imperialism. He states:

"There is conflict between the imperialist countries and the colonial and semicolonial peoples. This antagonism, a major aspect of the general crisis of capitalism, was also only a minor headache to the capitalists of a couple of generations ago. In those days the peoples of the less developed countries were easy pickings for the all-conquering capitalists. They provided markets and resources and cheap labor galore. * * *

Instead of colonial wars, which he calls imperialist butcheries, there is today a different picture. He continues:

"The shoe is on the other foot. The peoples in the colonial and semicolonial countries—China, India, Pakistan, Indochina, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Korea, as well as in various parts of Africa—are on the march to national independence, and all the power and trickery of the world capitalists cannot stop them. * * * The revolt of the colonial peoples is one of the heaviest blows being suffered by international capitalism."

He argues that one of the principal aims of United States foreign policy is to secure financial domination over the colonial and semicolonial areas.

"It would be silly," he goes on, "to suppose that American imperialism really intends to industrialize the backward areas of the world. For the capitalists know that the more these territories become industrialized, the more difficult their own general marketing problem becomes."

Elsewhere Foster states that:

"The economic threat of the United States is now a menace to all humanity."

¹ Not printed.

The making of extensive foreign loans or gifts, probably through the United Nations, without any American controls whatsoever on such loans or financial returns from them "is one of a number of ways in which the colonial peoples can shield themselves from the reactionary capitalists."

Another way is: "the nationalization, without democratic controls, of the banks and various key industries."

And again: "American imperialism is like a monstrous, all-consuming spider." * * * "The United Nations is a casualty of American imperialism's drive for world empire. The United States started out, with a subsidy-fed majority of states under its control, to use the United Nations as an imperialist weapon for forcing the U. S. S. R. into submission. But the U. S. S. R. checkmated this ruthless use of America's hard-boiled U. N. majority, by using its veto power to protect itself. Whereupon, the United States, unable to utilize the U. N. effectively for its power-policy game, proceeded to bypass that organization altogether in many important matters."

In his 243-page volume, published in New York in 1951, entitled "American Imperialism," Victor Perlo, whose writings are featured by the Workers' Bookshop, states:

"The loot of imperialism is derived mainly from dependent countries. These countries are backward or, in the polite language of United Nations diplomacy, underdeveloped. * * * This backwardness is deliberate. It is imposed and maintained by imperialisms. * * * Imperialism, the stage of monopoly capitalism * * * perfected the use of capital export as a means of economic enslavement."

The companion volume to Perlo's book is entitled "Atomic Imperialism" and was written by James S. Allen in 1952 and issued by International Publishers, New York. It carries the general theme treated by his predecessors into the realm of uranium-ore supplies and other strategic ores and metals.

And, of course, Joseph Stalin, in his Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., published in 1952, of which supposedly 20 million copies have been printed for distribution throughout the world, adds to our information on the colonial subject by saying:

"But it follows from this that the sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (U. S. A., Britain, France) will not expand, but contract; that their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate; and that their industries will be operating more and more below capacity. That, in fact, is what is meant by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system in connection with the disintegration of the world market."

Stalin further links the subject of imperialism with his version of the Marxist concept of "profit." He holds that "modern capitalism, monopoly capitalism, cannot content itself with the average profit, which, moreover, has a tendency to decline, in view of the increasing organic composition of capital. It is not the average profit but the maximum profit that modern monopoly capitalism demands, which it needs for more or less regular extended reproduction."

And, again: "Monopoly capitalism demands not any sort of profit but precisely the maximum profit. That will be the basic economic law of modern capitalism." This type of profit is secured "through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries." He repeats again and again that "the maximum profit is the motor of monopoly capitalism."

To sum up, he says, "Instead of maximum profits (Socialist production) secures maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of society." Also, socialism affords "balanced, proportionate development of the national economy and, hence, economic planning." (At this point we call attention to the new slogan of the Kremlin, "maximum satisfaction versus maximum profits" which apparently is slated for wide usage and which carries an obvious propaganda appeal of some potentialities.)

Stalin's phraseology with respect to profit is followed very closely by Mr. Vishinsky of the U. S. S. R. who in the 383d plenary meeting of the General Assembly on October 18, 1952, said the following:

"This (the militarization of the economies of the capitalistic countries) is accounted for by the peculiarities of the monopolistic capitalists whose generating motive is maximum profit making which as shown recently by Joseph Stalin in his remarkable study of the economic problems of the U. S. S. R. pushes capital into taking such risky steps as the enslavement and plundering of colonies and underdeveloped areas the organization of new wars and the transformation of various areas into war bases. These activities are, for the leaders of contemporary capitalism the best sort of business for raking in the maximum profits in their attempt to conquer world economy."

PRESENT DAY PHASE OF THE ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOSOCIAL WORLD CONSPIRACY

The basic modernized Soviet propaganda line based upon the above ideology is today calculated to enfeeble the United States through the following techniques which are utilized through diverse media, including the United Nations:

1. Cut us off from supplies of raw materials abroad, e. g. oil, uranium ore, manganese, and other strategic items.
2. Destroy markets for our manufactured goods.
3. Cause us to lose control of our assets through nationalization, socialization, confiscatory taxation, burdensome regulation, etc.
4. Stop the flow of United States capital abroad, except where assets may be capturable near U. S. S. R. borders.
5. Cause us to lose friends.
6. Induce us to weaken ourselves financially and scatter our efforts around the world.

In the debates of the Economic and Social Council, the Second Committee and in the plenary meetings, the delegates from the Iron Curtain countries have for years engaged in consistent but all-pervasive Soviet propaganda claims which we divide into 14 general classifications as follows:

1. Social backwardness

Underdeveloped countries are prevented by colonial powers from modernizing their outmoded social structures.

2. Evils of concentrated purchases

Compulsory "monoculture." The colonial powers have concentrated their efforts on developing strategic raw materials in underdeveloped areas.

3. Inflationary pressures

Speculative purchases of strategic materials have caused an inflationary price rise in the underdeveloped countries.

4. Profit sole objective

The objective of the corporations (foreign monopolies) controlling the production of raw materials is maximum profit to be realized as quickly as possible without regard to the interests of the underdeveloped countries.

5. High profits abroad

Profits realized by operations in the underdeveloped countries are higher than those achieved domestically.

6. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

This organization has made itself a tool of the United States (presumably Wall Street, etc.).

7. Bar to local industrialization

The operations of United States corporations prevent industrialization of the underdeveloped countries particularly in the fields of heavy industry and chemicals.

8. Autarchy urged in underdeveloped areas

The underdeveloped countries should control prices, wages and profits, reduce unnecessary imports, develop the home market, redistribute incomes and prevent wealthy classes from hoarding, real estate speculation and import of luxury goods.

9. Point Four Program a device for economic control

The Point Four economic assistance program is merely a device to secure strategic raw materials for the United States, armament industries while at the same time bringing about economic domination of the underdeveloped countries.

10. Capital exported because unemployable at home

The highly industrialized countries have to export capital to overcome difficulties caused by contraction of domestic markets.

11. United States policies causing unemployment

By forcing the export of raw materials instead of encouraging their processing internally the industrialized countries are causing unemployment in the underdeveloped countries.

12. *Profits sucked back to the United States*

Profits made in underdeveloped countries do not remain there but are transferred to the capital-exporting countries, thereby still further augmenting supply of capital.

13. *Nationalization recommended*

Underdeveloped countries should nationalize their banks and key industries as a matter of self-protection. They should demand loans and gifts but without strings attached; the lender-donor should have no controls whatever.

14. *Neo-Malthusianism*

The real reason for the shortage of world food resources is not that population in certain underdeveloped countries has risen faster than production of food but rather that capitalist production is exploitative in its nature. This means that labor does not receive the total value of its production. Social conditions caused by the policies of the colonial powers hamper the proper development of productive resources. One of the criticisms of colonialism is, therefore, that it exemplifies the sinister aspect of the Malthusian law; hence the propaganda epithet "neo-Malthusianism."

If the above comprise the economic and psycho-social tools calculated to further the plans of the Kremlin for world hegemony, the following plain spoken statement points out its ultimate practical goal. Dr. Vincas Kreve-Mickevicius, former Foreign Minister of Lithuania in a recent interview with the Voice of America quoted a statement made to him in 1940 by then Premier Molotov, who said:

"We don't fight America. But when we shall have deprived America of her markets, crisis will come, and that crisis will call forth confusion, and the American workers will appeal to us to come over and restore order. Presently, the American worker is well off, and, of course, we can't get to him. The worker will not submit. Consequently, we must cause unemployment in America. After we have taken her markets in Europe, expelled her from Asia and elsewhere, she will have no markets to dump her goods on. She will curtail production and there will be unemployment. We shall then be able to settle our accounts with America."

NOTES AND COMMENTS ON THE DEBATES IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE AND THE PLENARY MEETING

The complete significance of the balloting cannot be grasped without some examination of the ideas and sentiments expressed in the debates themselves. All of the above will afford a necessary and proper perspective by which they may be intelligently interpreted. Obviously any action or arguments seeking to worsen the "climate" for free enterprise in general and international trade or foreign investment in particular would serve the purposes of the Kremlin conspiracy, regardless of by whom it was initiated.

In the 228th meeting of the Second Committee held on December 4, Mr. Bauer Paiz of Guatemala made some interesting observations on the social and economic conditions in his country. He deplored the fact that there has been "expansion of the activities of certain foreign monopolies to the operation of maritime and rail transport services. Their operation in the interests of shareholders who were not nationals of the country had delayed its economic and social evolution. It was to be hoped that there would be an improvement in that respect in the future." Incidentally, he also mentioned the Malthusian law.

In the 229th meeting on December 5, Mr. Lima, the delegate of Brazil, challenged certain statements made by the representative of the U. S. S. R. He contended that Brazil owed its agrarian structure not to the American monopolies but to the heritage of the past and to its own historical, economic, and social conditions. He contended that certain colonial enterprises to which the U. S. S. R. representative had referred were not foreign monopolies but Brazilian undertakings in newly cleared areas south of the State of Sao Paulo. These lands are now being farmed by thousands of small holders and constituted one of the country's richest agricultural regions. He sarcastically stated that the Soviet world, which regarded itself as the source of all light, apparently could not appreciate the fact that progress could be made by methods other than its own. The point we make in mentioning Mr. Lima's remarks is that while he was obviously anti-Communist in his thinking, he used the word "monopolies" instead of "corporations" just as the Communists do themselves.

In the 231st meeting on December 6, Mr. Cusano, of Uruguay, in defending the draft resolution which his country had sponsored, stated that "nationalization was no doubt an old principle of state socialism. However, it was timeliness rather than age which gave principles their value." That was why no Uruguayan nationalization measures, opposed earlier, had been adopted when the time did come, that is when the government had become technically and economically strong enough to take the place of private interests.

We hasten to comment that the reference to the time factor bears interesting resemblance to some of the observations of Stalin in his book, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, written in 1921. Investors seeking to risk their funds abroad can hardly view with equanimity any statement that baldly views nationalization as more or less inevitable. To carry Mr. Cusano's argument a step further, it would seem to imply that foreign capital by helping to improve their economic conditions in an underdeveloped country would itself bring nearer the day of its own nationalization.

In this meeting Mr. Abdok of Iran took a very strong stand in favor of the draft resolution. Referring to the fact that the United States had established great public undertakings such as the TVA, he mentioned Mexican nationalization of oil in 1938 and Iran's action versus the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. in 1951. He argued that when a country exercised its right to nationalize its natural resources, the other members of the United Nations ought to refrain from any measure of coercion; a state's right to nationalize its natural resources was the guarantee of its economic independence. He further contended that certain industrialized countries would have to realize that in the modern world a policy of exploiting the resources of any country against the interests of that country's inhabitants could not be justified. His speech bristled with hostility toward foreign corporations which attempted to protect their rights vis-a-vis the underdeveloped countries, but at one point in his speech he made the startling observation that it would be wrong to conclude that the Iranian Government did not wish for foreign capital, but that on the contrary it was ready to welcome foreign capitalists wishing to invest in Iran, though it would do so only on the basis of commercial contracts, etc.

In the 232nd meeting on December 8th, Mr. Cusano, of Uruguay, rose again to speak on behalf of his delegation's draft resolution. Among other things, he stated that the populations of many of the underdeveloped countries which had enormous potential wealth were living in wretched conditions as a result of foreign exploitation. He stated that he would always support the right of his country in preference to the right of private investors.

However, it remained for Mr. Siles, of Bolivia, in the 234th meeting on December 9th to deliver one of the longest and most uncompromising addresses on behalf of the resolution during the entire debate. He excoriated what he called the "international tin monopoly" and held that the worldwide tin empire led by Patino had been built up at the expense of misery of Bolivian workers. He then said that the countries producing raw materials, such as his own, were obliged to purchase the manufactured goods sold by the highly industrialized countries at free market prices, which echoed precisely the often-repeated contentions of the Soviet delegates on this subject. He accused the United States of fixing the price of tin so low that the miners had been forced to work at starvation wages, stating that thousands of workers had been shot by the henchmen of the mining monopolies.

In the 235th meeting on December 10, Mr. Bunge, of Argentina, strongly threw his weight behind the resolution. One of his contentions is especially worthy of mention, namely, that countries which still maintain the system of private enterprise did so because they found it the best system, but all States had adopted some measure of nationalization. The state was a dynamic entity and its ideas were constantly evolving. The individualistic concepts of the Nineteenth Century had given way to theories which laid greater stress on the common interests (the wave of the future concept). He also used the phrase "foreign monopolies" which the Soviet bloc by constant repetition has apparently made very popular. Mr. Bunge offered another dubious contribution to the stimulation of international private lending. He said that international understanding was jeopardized when a foreign power placed itself behind private investors in order to secure undue privileges for them in the countries in which they were investing and that investors in underdeveloped countries must assume the risks and disadvantages encountered in the country of investment. Above all, the exercise of coercion or pressure by foreign interests in any form was illegitimate.

We wonder where Mr. Bunge would place the point where privileges end and rights begin.

In the 238th meeting on December 12th, Mr. Lima, of Brazil, again took the floor in explanation of his affirmative vote. He said, among other things, foreign private capital was more interested in obtaining maximum profits in the minimum time than in assisting essential development projects. Domestic private capital had generally been scarce in the underdeveloped countries and it too had been primarily interested in maximum profit.

Neither the delegate from Argentina nor any other delegate addressed himself to the reasons as to why private capital has been scarce in underdeveloped countries. There was no discussion of bad government, of discrimination, of corruption nor of confiscation. Yet these point up some of the basic reasons why private capital is created in so-called advanced countries and is inadequate in underdeveloped countries.

An overall characterization of the debates is that most of the countries involved therein desire the fruits of private capitalism but are unwilling to adopt the capitalistic mode of production or its industrial disciplines. Unless there is cognizance of this fact no policy designed to cure many of the economic ills of the world can possibly succeed.

It is natural that Bolivia and Iran should be leaders of the affirmative side of the debate. The Mexican delegate was likewise active on their side. These countries have all had a hand in the nationalization of private industry owned by foreign capital. Perhaps also, Iran and Bolivia were seeking to have their actions validated in principle by the General Assembly which might carry some legal weight, looking toward the contingency that title to the products of the nationalized industries might be challenged by the dispossessed owners.

To give additional instances where delegates of the Western countries consciously or unconsciously were using Communist or left-wing socialist arguments would serve no purpose. A number of bizarre points, however, brought out during the debates are worthy of mention. Mr. Abdel-Rasek, of Egypt, criticized the New York Times for its interpretation of the text of the joint resolution as a defeat for the United States and a victory for communist propaganda. On the contrary he said, its passage was a victory for the United States because it combatted the false idea that the United Nations was principally a United States organization. Apparently, according to Mr. Abdel-Rasek, the more often we are out-voted the happier we should be. Mr. Haliq of Saudi Arabia thought that the draft resolution was superfluous because it was equivalent to the United Nations asking its members to recognize their right to act as governments. Undoubtedly he felt that nationalization was a basic right of sovereignty. Following up this line of reasoning, he stated that the wording of the resolution placed some of the underdeveloped countries in an awkward position because no underdeveloped country could vote against recognition of the right to nationalize and exploit its resources. Furthermore, he argued that if amendments would be pressed dealing with such questions as compensation and arbitration, delegations could not support them because they would be subsequently be bound by certain commitments and they might prejudice freedom of action by their governments in the future. There may be more to his contention than meets the eye.

Of course, the resolution had the full support of the Iron Curtain delegates. They lost no time in repeating their hackneyed and shop-worn propaganda, going so far as to mention the alleged depredations of such individual companies as United Fruit and Cuban American Sugar. Incidentally, a good many companies whose shares are listed on the New York Stock Exchange are mentioned by name in the U. N. debates and we often wonder whether they are aware of this fact. Among the Soviet delegates taking the floor on Resolution VI were Messrs. Glozar, of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Arkadyev, of the U. S. S. R., Mr. Katz-Suchy, of Poland, and Mr. Krivenj, of the Ukrainian U. S. S. R.

A noteworthy and hardly surprising fact bearing on the good faith and intentions of the Soviet attitude on nationalization was afforded by Mr. Stanovnik of Yugoslavia in the 238th meeting on December 12th. Quoting from Article Five of the Rumanian Nationalization Act and other documentary sources he showed that where the Soviet Union owns an interest in joint stock companies in the satellite nations, its interest was not subject to nationalization. The howls of rage and epithets hurled at him by the Iron Curtain delegates in this meeting may be imagined.

Of course, the U. S. position was supported by a number of delegates. Among the Latin-American group, statements by the Peruvian delegate were friendly, praising especially subsidiaries of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. and W. R. Grace

& Co. Mr. Facio, of Costa Rica, praised the aid of the United States which had been extended to his country, and Mr. Tous, of Ecuador, made the important observation that backward conditions in certain Latin-American countries had existed for centuries; they were not created recently by foreign exploitation as the U. S. S. R. group contended. Moreover, the foreign companies which have invested money have not brought about economic slavery. Naturally, some pretty plain speaking and a good measure of sound economics came from delegates like Mr. Stahl of Sweden, Mr. Jonker, of the Netherlands, Messrs. Perry and Munro of New Zealand, Sir Clifford Norton and Mr. Lloyd, of Great Britain, and Mr. Blerot, of Belgium. Considering the role which United States capital has played in the past and is now playing in the development of Canada, the statements of that country's delegates were surprisingly bland. They could be considered on our side of the fence, but Canada, strangely enough, failed to cast her negative vote with us in the final balloting, preferring to abstain.

GENERAL EVALUATION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE

The preceding is merely a sample of the evidence that Soviet propaganda has deeply infiltrated into the thinking of the representatives of many Western nations. No claim is made that either individuals or governments are under Communist domination or control, or perhaps even consciously promoting the interests of the Soviet Union directly or indirectly. We offer no labels whatever, nor do we attempt to categorize. The quotations speak for themselves; the statements show considerable confusion of thinking and display keen knowledge on the part of some delegates and gross ignorance on the part of others as to the fundamentals of international commerce and investment. Unfortunately, both the debates and many of the votes in the Second Committee and in the plenary meetings demonstrated the success with which socialist and Communist ideology had been disseminated, not only among the delegates to the United Nations, but also on a broader basis to the population of the United States. There has been little prompt, determined and effective reply to Communist propaganda. Moreover, there has been no disposition on the part of the United States delegation or other non-Communist delegations to take the initiative in presenting the case for individual enterprise. True, our delegates from time to time have replied to Soviet propaganda and have placed in the record the facts regarding our economy, our standard of living and our social progress on the record. The statement made by Mr. Walter Kotschnig, Deputy U. S. Representative in the Economic and Social Council on July 10, 1952, and a statement by Dr. Lubin in the Second Committee on October 29, 1952, are examples of this. They have refuted Soviet "propanomics," i. e. the mongrel offspring of evil propaganda and fraudulent economics. We are at a disadvantage, however, because the Soviets have three delegations; viz the U. S. S. R., the Ukrainian S. S. R., and the Byelorussian S. S. R., plus the Poles and the Czechoslovaks, constituting a monolithic bloc. Moreover, while we can usually count on some of the Western nations to reinforce our stand on economic and social questions, there is in no sense the unanimity of thinking displayed by the five countries taking orders from the Kremlin. Certainly no one could honestly say that France, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and the British Commonwealth group view such matters as government ownership, distribution of wealth and the status of invested capital precisely as does the United States, the largest potential exporter of capital among the U. N. members.

LONG-TERM FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO U. N. DECISION ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The action in the United Nations which took place in December and to which we have briefly referred were made possible by or are, in our opinion, the end products of no single or isolated mistake, but rather of a long series of actions and policy failures on the part of a number of countries, including our own. A fuller analysis with supporting documentation cannot find place in this report. A study of this kind would, of course, be a prerequisite to the formulation of any high-level policy to be developed for the future. We shall briefly enumerate some of the causes which we feel are the most important to mention:

1. The steady pounding of Soviet propaganda in and out of the U. N. and its committees and special agencies, including the Economic and Social Council. Full cooperation of the entire worldwide propaganda network of the Soviet Union in this project is taken for granted.

2. The mounting wave of nationalism which is apparent in many parts of the world. This phenomenon has flowed logically from the disintegration or en-

feeblement of the Japanese, German, Austrian, Dutch, Italian, French, and British empires.

3. The failure or unwillingness of the delegates from many under-developed countries to understand the workings and structure of American capitalism. Some of this is due to inexperience and some to the organizational problems which are besetting some of the newly formed nations.

4. Our failure to explain to the delegates and to the world at large what free enterprise is really like and how modern American capitalism really operates. This is a large subject and again involves high-level policy, as well as personnel problems and proper liaison.

5. The nationalization policy of the British Labor Party which offered an example to the whole world of a means of extinguishing private enterprise. An examination of the treatment of the shareholders in the nationalized enterprises has undoubtedly been made by the Kremlin and by those underdeveloped countries considering nationalization schemes of their own. A conservative opinion in London some years ago bewailed the fact that Britain had advertised nationalization as the socialist panacea of the age. It was not intended for export. We referred to this in an article appearing in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of May 24, 1951, entitled "The Nationalizers Become Nationalized—in Iran," and which is attached herewith as Appendix E.¹ Among other things it stated: "The lesson of the Anglo-Iranian affair is that any country with valuable assets overseas gives a hostage to fortune and invites imitation when it attacks capital at home."

6. The United States Government's policy with reference to domestic invested capital and the relationship of business to government has in the recent past not been too friendly. We suspect that many of the epithets hurled at American business and businessmen by our own government have been absorbed by many foreign governments and their representatives. It is too much to expect that antagonism to invested capital at home will not breed a similar attitude abroad. We cannot consistently protest socialism abroad if we encourage it at home. To hunt with the hounds and simultaneously run with the hares on this basic matter is to court diplomatic disaster.

7. American foreign policy has not properly supported the rights of those Americans who risk their capital abroad. Beginning with the defaults on foreign dollar bonds in 1932, right up to a few months ago when the cartel suit was filed against the oil companies operating abroad, our foreign investors have, with some exceptions, been given shabby treatment by the federal government. Again quoting from the article referred to in paragraph 5, above, we stated, "It would not be too late at this point for Washington to announce a firming-up or clarification of our policy for protecting foreign investors."

8. Many of our large corporations, as well as some of the great business associations, either because of fear or frustration or lack of facts often adequately and firmly fail to press their cases for the purpose of influencing policy decisions. Perhaps this again is based upon inadequate briefing as to the true nature of the economic and psychosocial phases of the Kremlin conspiracy. The awareness of business organizations with respect to Soviet attacks upon them in their operations abroad is becoming keener, but much needs to be done in an organized fashion—and done quickly.

9. The action of the United Nations should be viewed in its overall philosophical perspective. The attitude toward property rights has varied in different historical periods since its earliest derivation from Roman law. The wars of the 20th Century have caused progressive encroachment on property rights for various reasons, including the fact that the middle classes in many countries, traditionally the defenders of property rights, have been placed on the defensive. In this process, deep moral issues have become involved. Current literature has dealt with this subject rather frequently in recent years, as for example, Felix Somary's "Democracy at Bay," Knopf, 1952.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On pages 13 to 19 of our January 7, 1952, report to the Exchange on the Sixth General Assembly, we offered certain recommendations and suggestions. We should like to reaffirm the positions taken at that time. Unfortunately, our criticisms are still valid. It is hoped that the incoming administration will formulate policies and take actions seeking to correct the situation which we face in the United Nations in the economic field.

¹ Not printed.

The summary of our views is as follows:

1. Basic policies concerning the economic and social phases of our defense strategy must be formulated at the highest government levels.

2. Activities of the U. S. Mission concerning the U. N. and its specialized agencies should be fully integrated with such policies. Effective liaison is to be expected between the U. S. Mission and the higher authorities in the State Department having jurisdiction over U. N. affairs.

3. In addition there should be close liaison with the central agency or board in Washington to be responsible for planning and/or carrying out so-called psychological strategy.

4. In view of the Kremlin conspiracy for world economic hegemony, the economic, financial, and social problems in the U. N., its committees and specialized agencies must be considered as a defense area and policies executed with this in mind.

5. Personnel responsible for carrying out the objectives in 4 above must be adequate at all staff levels. Specialists in economic and related matters must constitute a larger component of the Mission in comparison with political, security, legal, and conventional military affairs. The present imbalance should be corrected, particularly in the light of the constitution of the Iron Curtain delegations.

6. Personnel, moreover, at the higher levels must have at least a working knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, with particular reference to its economic, psychosocial, and semantic aspects. Able, forthright, and dedicated protagonists of the free economy are indispensable for frontline positions opposite the trained revolutionary propagandists of the Kremlin delegations.

7. Adequate liaison should be established with those segments of the government and private industry in a position to furnish information, knowledge, and statistical data on economic and financial matters. This includes the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission and other agencies in Washington, as well as the leading business groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, the N. A. M., the Investment Bankers Association, the New York Stock Exchange, etc. In our opinion, a wealth of valuable information and talent exists in the United States which has not been drawn upon for the purposes of the U. S. Mission, or, if drawn upon, has not been utilized effectively and fully.

8. The success of the Soviets in utilizing the United Nations as an instrument of and sounding board for its worldwide propaganda machine is shocking. Certainly in the economic and financial field any United States policy which does not instantly seize and continuously hold the initiative is doomed to failure. We have a profusion of moral, economic, and factual arguments on our side which render any submissive, fatalistic approach unnecessary. Obviously, we cannot in a few lines or paragraphs write a prescription for the cure of the many aspects of this dangerous situation. A beginning, however, would be to deemphasize, or cause to be deemphasized wherever and whenever possible, the role of our government or any other Western government in the creation and production of wealth. Unfortunately, the opposite, overemphasis and exaggeration, has been the invariable rule. We have looked and listened everywhere in and about the U. N. and its committees in vain for any statement that the real wages of the American worker are higher than anywhere else in the world because the invested capital per head is the highest in the United States and because the American businessman was less restricted by crippling regimentation than his colleagues in other countries. We have likewise found no statement that many underdeveloped countries who fancy themselves having a form of capitalistic society do not have it; their poverty does not exist because of capitalism, but because of its absence.

9. The existing arrangement with respect to nongovernmental organizations and their representatives should be improved. Minimum standards for accreditation might well be set up. The delegates and staff of the U. S. Mission are called upon from time to time to brief the N. G. O. representatives who are in turn responsible for interpreting the work of the U. N. to their respective organizations and constituents. This should be more of a two-way street; namely, the N. G. O.'s should be a means of conveying the tenor of public opinion and other constructive information to the Mission.

SPECIFIC ASSIGNMENTS OF STOCK EXCHANGE REPRESENTATIVE

At the request of Dr. Lubin, we gathered and made available data with respect to sales, profits, profit margins, and other facts regarding many leading American corporations for varying fiscal periods. Acknowledgment for help in assembling these statistics is made to the National City Bank of New York, Standard &

Poor's Corporation and the Department of Stock List, and personnel in other departments of the New York Stock Exchange. At the instance of the Mission, the Exchange requested certain information from some of the leading American corporations, including the ten units believed to hold the largest volume of defense contracts. A copy of this letter is attached as Appendix F.¹ Replies were received from the following corporations: American Locomotive, E. I. du Pont, Swift, International Harvester, Allied Chemical & Dye, Sperry Corp., General Motors, Lockheed Aircraft, U. S. Steel, Douglas Aircraft, Chrysler Corp., General Foods, and Republic Steel. Standard Oil of New Jersey and Texas Co. have indicated their willingness to cooperate.

Much valuable data were obtained, all of which were forwarded to the Mission. There is evidence that this information was helpful to members of the Mission and we refer specifically to the December 18th statement of Senator Alexander Wiley in Committee 2, copy of which comprised Press Release No. 1620 and attached herewith as Appendix G.¹ Incidentally, this effective statement made just before the General Assembly recessed is distinctly dynamic rather than negative in its approach. Its content should be particularly interesting to the Exchange since it refers to the slander against American business, the widening ownership of our large business corporations, the truth about corporate profits, and the desire of American business for peace.

Acknowledgment is due to the many courtesies extended to your representative by the members and staff of the U. S. Mission. Their helpfulness and cooperation was evident at all times.

APPENDIXES

- A: Report of the Second Committee No. A/2332 dated December 18, 1952
- B: Press Release No. 1611 of December 11, 1952, Statement of Dr. Isador Lubin
- C: Press Release of New York Stock Exchange dated December 16, 1952, containing letter of Mr. Funston to Ambassador Austin
- D: Reply of Ambassador Austin to Mr. Funston dated December 24, 1952
- E: Reprint from Commercial and Financial Chronicle of May 24, 1951, of article by Robert S. Byfield entitled: "The Nationalizers Become Nationalized—In Iran"
- F: Letter of New York Stock Exchange dated October 21, 1952, to leading corporations
- G: Press Release No. 1620 dated December 18, 1952, containing statement of Senator Alexander Wiley

Mr. MORRIS. Have you encountered any other reference to these particular volumes?

Mr. BYFIELD. Not in so many words, but I have here extracts of the official records of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Disarmament Commission, and certain others which I have selected which give the speeches of the various Iron Curtain delegates, Mr. Malik, Mr. Vishinsky, and some others, which incorporate in their attacks on American business many of the aspects of the philosophy contained in this triumvirate of books which I have mentioned.

There is no question about it in my mind. If you listen to dozens and dozens of these speeches, and if you read thousands and thousands of these pages, there comes up before you a definite pattern. In other words, it is my opinion that these Soviet Iron Curtain spokesmen who are using the United Nations as a propaganda forum to destroy our sources of raw material and to destroy the assets of our corporations abroad, have drawn heavily upon these volumes for their factual data.

¹ Not printed.

Mr. MORRIS. And the basis for that conclusion is, first, your official position which enables you to make such observations, you have read all these volumes, and you have listened to the speeches of the Soviet delegates and the delegates from the so-called peoples' democracies?

Mr. BYFIELD. Yes, sir; and I am familiar with certain other basic volumes, Lenin's Imperialism, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, and The Theses of the Second and Sixth Communist Internationals of 1920 and 1928.

Mr. MORRIS. May the record show that this testimony is being received as expert testimony on the part of Mr. Byfield?

The CHAIRMAN. The record will so show.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I missed part of your testimony, Mr. Byfield. What is your official position today?

Mr. BYFIELD. I am a member of the New York Stock Exchange and I am an investment adviser. In other words, I advise my clients how to invest their money.

Mr. MORRIS. Then your official position vis-a-vis this particular problem is that you are the United States representative of the New York Stock Exchange?

Mr. BYFIELD. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to get. Thank you very much, Mr. Byfield.

We will stand adjourned at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. Before we adjourn, did Mr. Victor Perlo ever write to you?

Mr. BYFIELD. Yes; he did.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your address, Vishinsky Versus American Business?

Mr. BYFIELD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he want to see you at that time?

Mr. BYFIELD. I believe he wanted a copy of that address.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you speak with him at that time?

Mr. BYFIELD. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that address, together with a copy of the original letter of Mr. Perlo to Mr. Byfield, go into the record at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. They may and be made a part of the record.

(The information referred to was marked "Exhibits Nos. 184 and 185" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 184

FLUSHING, N. Y., May 19, 1952.

ROBERT S. BYFIELD,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BYFIELD: Please send me a copy of the address entitled "Vishinsky Versus American Business" which you delivered before the Export Managers' Club, New York City, on March 18, 1952.

Very truly yours,

VICTOR PERLO.

EXHIBIT No. 185

[From the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, April 17, 1952]

VISHINSKY VS. AMERICAN BUSINESS

YESTERDAY IRAN—TODAY GUATEMALA—TOMORROW THE WORLD?

By Robert S. Byfield¹

Mr. Byfield declares Kremlin has wholly rejected tradition by unleashing world war III with psychological warfare as primary weapon, with military weapons merely in reserve. Declares in United Nations Soviet propaganda machine really gets into high gear, smearing free people because we let them get away with it. Classifies propaganda "tricks" into eight specific categories. As defense policies, declares we must coordinate our own propaganda efforts; realize business cannot leave task to government; avoid intemperate political attacks on business; and stop apologizing for American capitalism.

Since V-J Day we have lost over 600 million friends, about a quarter of the world's population—we who considered ourselves, and rightly so, the most generous and idealistic people of modern times. Many of us who have been abroad are deeply conscious of the rising tide of anti-Americanism in many areas and even among some peoples whose friendship we have always taken for granted. This is a "cold war" we say, and no doubt that is true, but such generalizations and slogans may be dangerous because they tend to obscure the facts and perhaps create inertia when we lean too heavily on them. If we now take another step and identify the use of the "cold war" as a weapon of the Kremlin, we have progressed, but not far enough. We must realize the fact that Soviet propaganda is a new weapon and that history is full of examples of new weapons being used unexpectedly to triumph over relatively stronger opponents.

Take the victory of Miltiades and his Greeks over the Persians of Darius in 490 B. C. at Marathon. Here they struck suddenly with an unorthodox running attack quite different from the conventional, slow moving phalanx which the Asiatics had anticipated. Again, almost 2,000 years later, at Agincourt in 1415, the fast-moving English archers of Henry V defeated the French, whose heavily armored horsemen were mired in mud. Here was illustrated that the inadaptability of a military caste can spell tragedy. The German breakthrough at Sedan in 1940 made obsolete the 19th century concept of a vast weight of foot soldiers. The day of a wholly mechanized attack by means of the dive bomber and the tank had arrived.

TEACHINGS OF RECENT PAST

So much for the broad teachings of history. Let us take a closer look at the more recent past. Of the 3 attempts to destroy Western democracy in this century, two have already failed and the third contest has been under way for some years. The Kaiser unleashed an orthodox military attack preceded by a conventional and formal declaration of war. The methods of the German Nazis and the Italian Fascists were somewhat novel since they depended primarily upon military force and were to that extent orthodox, but they utilized psychological and politico-social weapons in addition. The Kremlin has wholly rejected tradition by utilizing psychological warfare as a primary weapon with military components merely in reserve or secondary. Its points of attack or maximum exertion of pressure are "behind the lines" or upon and within the borders of its intended victims.

SUBACUTE AGGRESSION

One of the more dangerous aspects of the situation today is that Soviet strategists in this field have devised special propaganda pressures which they feel are peculiarly fitted to take advantage of our weaknesses and faults, our national attitudes, deep-seated traditions, and our highly developed, extremely sensitive and delicately balanced capitalistic setup. This type of aggression is, to use a medical term, subacute, and is difficult to recognize as warfare in the commonly

¹ An address by Mr. Byfield, member of the New York Stock Exchange, and its representative at the Sixth General Assembly in Paris, before the Export Managers Club, New York City, March 18, 1952.

accepted sense. An ex-Communist characterized it to me quite recently when he said: "They believe they have got something for you that neither A-bomb superiority nor the General Motors assembly line can overcome." Be that as it may, it is our opinion that the American public is just beginning to realize that world war III has already started and that a so-called "struggle for men's minds" is one of its phases. We need planes, guns, and tanks as well as men, but we will not use them wisely unless we also have a new understanding, new concepts, new definitions, and a thorough analysis of Soviet propaganda. You simply cannot grapple with something in the dark if you cannot even give it a name.

HOOVER'S WARNING

We have had plenty of warning. Herbert Hoover in the first volume of his memoirs, recently published, recalls that the Bolsheviks began propagandizing outside their own borders almost immediately after the 1917 Revolution, even when they were fighting civil wars at home and held power precariously. When Bela Kun established a Red dictatorship in 1919 at Budapest, civilian commissars traveled with his army, one to each regiment, compelling adherence to the doctrines of Moscow. I saw them operate with my own eyes and heard them with my own ears. The Communist line and its objectives at Kassa and Eperjes in Eastern Slovakia in 1919 were precisely the same as at Pannunjom in 1952. Four of our Presidents and five Secretaries of State were aware of the nature of international communism and its propaganda. Their speeches and documents telling why they were opposed to our recognition of the Moscow regime should be reread. They are matters of public record.

COMMUNISM'S TWO EARLIEST VICTORIES

Two of the earliest and perhaps the greatest victories of international communism have hardly been labeled as such. First, we legitimatized the Soviet Union and made it respectable before all the world by our diplomatic recognition in 1933 and we were foolish enough to believe it would keep any promises it made to us. Second, the Communists captured an important section of the so-called liberal movement in the United States. By this we mean that many of our intellectuals felt that collectivism of the left was not as evil and malignant as collectivism of the right. They were willing to overlook the obvious tyrannies of the Soviets because they were in varying degrees in love with, or sold on its social content or objectives. They were gullible enough to believe it was an "underdog" philosophy. The economic programs of the American Communist Party and of our own non-Communist leftists were often not far apart. They used, and in fact, still use similar terminology in their antibusiness attacks. Frequently they have differed only in degree or method. All of this is still currently a matter of heated controversy, and we cannot cover the whole subject at this time. Obviously, we must condense and perhaps oversimplify our handling of it.

ECONOMIZING ON MILITARY FORCE

Soviet psychological warfare is by no means a matter of words alone, however communicated—whether personally, by radio, or by written documents. It is merely the more easily identifiable aspect of a worldwide propaganda apparatus designed to economize upon the use of military force. It utilizes a world network of Communist unions, the WFTU, the Communist parties and their sympathizers everywhere, and an almost infinite variety of organizations and situations. We can mention only a few here. There are excellently maintained kindergartens in the Soviet sector of Vienna to influence the wives of workmen. There are special wares offered below cost in Soviet shops to undersell privately owned competitors in the adjacent American and British sectors. In Paris we were told there were 600 Communist organizers on the payroll of the Department of the Seine with no duties to perform outside party activities. Ditto for 18 shop foremen on the Paris Metro, the subway system. Ways have been devised to win over shop foremen in factories and Communist unions are well versed in how to be "soft" to management so as to capture its favor from rival non-Communist unions. Communist parties have used cultural exhibits in many parts of the world to discredit free enterprise. No activity seems too minor to be overlooked as a possible propaganda medium. Undoubtedly when the Soviet track team competes in the Olympic games at Helsinki this summer we will hear much about the virtues of the people's athletes and the sins of their competitors, the paid professionals who are running and jumping to promote the imperialism of the capitalistic monopolies.

USE OF U. N.

But it is in the debates and proceedings of the United Nations where the Soviet propaganda machine really gets into high gear. The U. N. was never intended to be used as a propaganda forum. The Soviets and their satellites use it because they are opportunists and use anything, everywhere at any time when it suits their purposes. They use the U. N. to smear free peoples and particularly free enterprise, American style because they can get away with it, and we have let them do so for 6 years now.

As a representative of the New York Stock Exchange it was my privilege to attend the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris in the closing months of 1951. My status, along with representatives of half a hundred other American organizations, was that of nongovernmental observer. I had some special jobs to do and I had a ringside seat. I saw the Soviet propaganda machine at its best, or from our point of view, at its worst. No experience could have been more frustrating and exasperating than to hear, at close range, Messrs. Vishinsky, Baranowsky, Malik, Kiselev, and their cohorts vilify and smear the United States, its Government, its economic system, and most of all its businessmen, you and I, for example. They commented on the action of the stock exchanges, excoriated our corporate management, and screamed about their alleged warbred profits.

No invective, no smear, no trick, no distortion of fact was forgotten. You have to hear this sort of thing to understand and measure it. It is not enough to read headlines or brief summaries about it in the American press. Its very malevolence was overwhelming, punctuated as it frequently was, by clapping and cheers of approval from sympathizers in the visitors' galleries. But the whole show was revealing. It indicated that the Soviets have a worldwide dragnet of economic information which they siphon into the Kremlin. They seem to utilize every Government publication, every public utterance, every magazine article, every radio broadcast or every economic bulletin from which they can glean even the most minute support or fancied support for their prefabricated slogans and doctrines. Nothing seems to escape them. Unlike the delegates and members of the press who have listened to this torrent of abuse for 6 years, we were not bored. We were not merely frustrated. We were frightened. It is not enough to say that the propaganda attack was designed for consumption behind the Iron Curtain. Undoubtedly, like the speeches of Soviet officials in Moscow or the columns of Pravda, it is intended for the faithful. Yet it is obvious that the grist from the propaganda mill is also intended for the doubtful as well as the faithful. There are hundreds of millions of people on our side of the Iron Curtain who know little, if anything, about capitalism, free enterprise, the system of private property, and a score of other economic terms. They are not in a position to appraise, assess, or analyze. Furthermore, whatever is spoken in the United Nations, whether subsequently refuted or not, bears a certain mark of authenticity, particularly to the uninformed, who, after all, comprise most of the world's peoples.

RECENT PARIS SESSION

Certain aspects of the recent session of the General Assembly at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris are worth mentioning here. The Western World, ourselves included, has allowed the Soviet Union to be represented by three delegations. They are, of course, the U. S. S. R. itself, and there are in addition the Byelorussian S. S. R. and the Ukrainian S. S. R. The last two have about as much to say regarding the foreign policy of the Kremlin as the States of New York and Pennsylvania might have about the foreign policy of our own Federal Government, perhaps less. But there they are anyway, each with their own separate delegations supported by ample staffs. Naturally, they work as a well functioning team. Yet this is not all. There are the Czechoslovak and the Polish delegations, whose performance naturally conforms to what their nations are, namely satellites of the Soviet Union. If we were to be facetious, we would say that the Kremlin operates a five-platoon system, differing, however, from recent practices in American football in that they are all offensive and none defensive in nature. Our own delegation may receive the backing of some or perhaps all of its friends on occasion, but the situation is quite different, as you may expect.

Many of the aspects of the scene in the plenary session of the General Assembly are duplicated in its committees. Time does not permit an analysis of each and every one of these committees and its functions, and this, furthermore, would serve no purpose. We were interested particularly in Committee 2, which is the economic committee where such subjects as point 4, economic assistance to

underdeveloped countries, technical aid programs and land reform are ordinarily the subjects for discussion and debate. In each of the committees, including Committee 2, every member of the U. N. is represented by a delegate. In Committee 2, therefore, there were 60 delegates sitting around in kind of a bull ring with assistants and staff members immediately behind them. It is important also to realize that a greater amount of time is spent in discussion of politico-economic problems in the plenary session and in the committee sessions than is generally understood. Economic matters, as we have stated, focus into Committee 2, which also receives the reports of ECOSOC, the Economic and Social Council, which was in session last summer at Geneva, Switzerland. For much of its anticapitalistic and antibusiness propaganda the Soviet group uses both ECOSOC and Committee 2.

The delegate of the U. S. S. R. in Committee 2 was Mr. A. Arutyunian of Baku, a trained economist and a most articulate vendor of Communist economic doctrine. In fact, the entire Soviet group gives the impression of specialized legal or economic training. The members work closely together, have Communist ideology at their fingertips and are skilled propagandists. For example, one day in Committee 2 the usual propaganda line that American corporations employ slave labor was reemphasized, with particular attention paid to the Chilean subsidiaries of American copper companies. Presumably this referred to the alleged labor policies of Anaconda and Kennecott. Arutyunian and his colleagues argued that the wages paid in Chilean mines were so low that they constituted a form of slavery. This propaganda attack, for such it was, was fully answered by our own delegate at a subsequent session of Committee 2. Oddly enough, the United States did not have the full and wholehearted support in presenting its side of the case from the Chilean delegate, Mr. Santa Cruz. It is obvious that I cannot here relate the details of the discussion about the wages of copper miners in Chile, but the point we should like to emphasize is that the Kremlin studies the operations of Americans and American corporations not only within the borders of the United States but all over the world as well.

As one sits in Committee 2 day after day, it is clear that it is the forum selected by the Soviet Union and its satellites for carrying out the predictions of Lenin in his classic volume, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. In order to understand what is going on here, it is a prerequisite to have a thorough knowledge of this work, as well as subsequent documents and pamphlets, particularly those issued by the Communist Party, U. S. A., the latest of which are *Monopoly by the Labor Research Organization*, and *American Imperialism by Victor Perlo*, published in 1951. It is, of course, readily discernible that the propaganda produced in Committee 2 is of inestimable value to the Soviets. Unlike the proceedings in the plenary sessions of the General Assembly, no verbatim record of what goes on in Committee 2 is made by the U. N. staff, although a rather full summary is available through the Publications Section. Nevertheless, verbatim records are maintained by Soviet sympathizers in the gallery, who for the most part were junior journalists and stenographers working for the French Communist press in Paris. No equivalent verbatim record was maintained in the English language, although formal speeches by Congressman Mike Mansfield of Montana, our delegate in this Committee, were mimeographed and distributed.

We have mentioned briefly the discussion about copper miners' wages. That is just one isolated incident. On another day there was a long diatribe by the Iranian delegate against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. in which he accused the chairman and the board of directors of having published a criminally untrue operating report in the London newspapers. The Iranian shook with emotion as he literally screamed out his charges. The British delegate, of course, answered but he displayed unfamiliarity with the oil business and economics in general. He did not point out that if the Iranian charges were true, a simple remedy was open under the British Companies Acts which prescribe severe penalties for false statements with respect to securities.

ANTI ROCKEFELLER SMEARING

Again on another day the properties of Venezuelan subsidiaries of American oil companies were made the subject of attack. The propaganda line was, as may be expected, that Mr. Rockefeller owned these properties. It was not mentioned that the largest of them was the property of the Creole Petroleum Co., which in turn is over 90 percent controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey, which is owned by several hundred thousand American stockholders. In the light of this it is easier to understand that propaganda, agitation, subversion, bribery, and blackmail are

tools which can do a great deal of harm abroad. It becomes less surprising, moreover, that American investments in other parts of the world are finding the going difficult as in the well publicized case of the United Fruit Co. in Guatemala. It is important to realize that these phenomena are not local but global in nature, all connected with one another. Ideas such as Iranianism, that extreme form of economic masochism, are contagious. Even in highly prosperous Venezuela, a recent headline in *El Universal*, a leading newspaper of Caracas, reads "Venezuela should join the countries which work their own oil." Can it be possible that nationalism is an idea of the mind and not a hunger of the belly? This is something for our intellectuals to ponder.

LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVE

It must be clear to all of you, as it was me, that the long-range propaganda objective in Committee 2 is to discredit American holdings and investments throughout the world and to use the U. N. as a framework in which to give such attacks the semblance of authenticity. We were advised that a similar procedure went on all summer in the 1951 session of ECOSOC in Geneva, Switzerland. Here Dr. Isidor Lubin, economic adviser, and Messrs. Stewart and Murden of the United States delegation had Mr. Arkadiev of the U. S. S. R. as their principal opponent. There is little doubt that the Soviets through careful monitoring transcribed the proceedings at each session, selected the material they wished in order to support their prefabricated doctrines and then sent it out all around the world to the Communist Parties and the Communist unions which are members of the W. F. T. U. to which we previously referred, and which is in effect the international Communist union holding company. This operation is one of attrition. Its objective may be amputation. It seeks to deprive us of our friends, the markets for our products, the sources of raw materials needed to sustain our industrial life and to take away in one form or another the assets of our corporations and individuals. It may take a couple of years, it may take 5 years, or it may take 10. The men in the Kremlin have patience. They can wait. The Politburo and its propaganda arm are skilled men. They have been at it for 34 years. They are trained revolutionaries, selected, among other things, for their objectivity and ruthlessness. They must feel confident in the knowledge that they almost literally have no "opposite number" in the United States. True, we have a Psychological Strategy Board in Washington, but it seems to be under new leadership every few months or so. It does not have very much power.

In view of all this, it became obvious that there might be two tasks or roles which I as an individual might perform as a nongovernmental observer during the current session in Paris. The first was this: The tremendous propaganda drive against Wall Street and so-called American big business had to be answered quickly and effectively.

One of the important French daily newspapers seemed to be the most effective medium. Accordingly, through parties not connected with the American delegation or the United States Embassy, an interview was arranged for me with the diplomatic editor of *Le Monde*, the conservative newspaper which was the successor to the *Temps*, but which had not been particularly friendly to American interests. Some difficulties arose. First of all, I was obliged to make an outline of what I had to say. Second, the editor who interviewed me was obliged to obtain the consent of his editorial board, because an interview with anyone from Wall Street was somewhat of a novelty, and it had to be carefully written since it would most surely draw fire from the left wing and the Communist press. About 5 weeks after my first contact with *Le Monde* the interview was published under the headlines which in this gathering might seem somewhat remarkable. I quote them herewith: "Wall Street Answers the Soviet Union." The subheading was "We Do Not Want War," says M. Byfield of the New York Stock Exchange.

One thing more. It was necessary to write a memorandum to provide background material for the interview, and this subsequently was given the title: "Wall Street's Vested Interest in Peace." It was surprising to me that this type of material had not previously been made available abroad despite the acute necessity for something like this. The realization of this situation frightened me.

CLASSIFYING PROPAGANDA TRICKS

The second task which needed attention was the classification into various categories of the propaganda tricks used by Messrs. Vishinsky, Malik, and their associates. It is, of course, elementary psychology that classification, earmark-

ing, identification, and labeling raise one's threshold of tolerance. The unknown frustrates. The Politburo and its agents use a special type of hate language, particularly in its attack upon the economics of the Western World. Most well-informed Americans know that the Soviets have prostituted the entire cultural apparatus into the service of the state. They have done so with art, the drama, music, biology, and other sciences. No one seems to have realized that they have also done this with economics. In fact, they have twisted and distorted economics so that it is difficult even for professional economists to decode their language. Perhaps it would serve our purpose to call this new weapon "propa-nomics," this being the mongrel offspring of evil propaganda and fraudulent economics. It is an important part of the Soviet hate language which we might call "commiebat." Kremlin propaganda seems to fall into eight categories and here is my version of them:

First, the false label trick. This includes many terms which had been made familiar by the speeches and writings of Communists apologists:

Warmonger: Anyone who is willing to defend himself or his country, if need be by force of arms, from Soviet enslavement.

Aggressor: Anyone or any nation opposing Soviet imperialism.

People's democracy: A totalitarian government taking orders from Moscow.

Fascist state: A totalitarian government not taking orders from Moscow.

Profiteer: Anyone who makes a profit.

Peace: A condition of helplessness and indefensibility before the military might of the Soviet Union.

Peace loving: Any nation, people, or individual willing to cooperate with Moscow.

Cooperation: "You let us do what we want and then help us do it."

Reactionary: According to General Kotikov, a reactionary is anyone who isn't a Communist.

Monopoly: Any corporate enterprise.

Monopolist: A businessman.

Millionaire: An important businessman.

Billionaire: A very important businessman.

Wall Street: Not a street nor a financial mechanism, but the symbol of capitalism, free enterprise, and private property.

War: Not necessarily the physical clash of men on a conventional battlefield, but propaganda, intrigue, assassination, blackmail, economic pressure, infiltration, subversion, agitation, kidnaping, and shakedowns.

Colonialism: The act of a country or a corporation in investing capital abroad to develop raw material sources.

Imperialism: The act of investing money abroad for any purpose whatsoever.

Ruling circles: Anyone with a job in Washington who has ever worked for a bank, a stock exchange firm, an investment house, or corporation whose shares are listed on any exchange. National City, Morgan, or Dillon Read affiliations count double.

Besides these terms there are others with subtleties of their own. One of them is "freedom of speech," and when a Communist uses this phrase he merely means "freedom to print the propaganda line of the moment." Again, the Soviets have mislabeled and twisted the word "disarmament." What Messrs. Acheson, Eden, and Schuman believe is a practical solution of the disarmament question is "limitation, regulation, balanced production, and control of armaments." When Mr. Vishinsky uses the word "disarmament" he means abolition of rearmament, not a reduction of armament. This is a false label or definition. It serves the tricky purposes of the Kremlin to use this type of definition.

Second is the dwarf and giant trick. The essence of this trick is to make a given fact appear large or small, whichever is desired, by comparing it with a selected other fact. For example, a person of ordinary height may be made to look small by placing him alongside a giant. Or again he can be made to look large by standing him next to a dwarf. Mr. Baranowsky, of the Ukrainian S. S. R., used this when in one of his U. N. speeches he compared current profits of American corporations of \$18.5 billion a year with the selected figure of a poor year a decade and a half ago which was only \$3.4 billion. Statistical manipulation of this kind has unlimited possibilities and is one of the most common methods of controlling judgment.

The third is the Siamese twin trick. The goal of this trick is to make the unlike appear identical. The professional semanticists describe this process as an attempt to place something that is to be opposed or to be discredited into a framework of reference which everyone hates, such as sin, greed, corruption, or envy. The use of the words "profit" and "profiteer" in close junction sets up a

desired confusion, and may serve to arouse a hostile attitude toward a legitimate social act. Similarly we have seen handling of the words "corporation" and "trust" interchangeably with the easily recognizable objective of contaminating the former with latter. In a sense, this would be the act of indictment by association; so would be the exact opposite—whitewash by association. One is a negative and the other a positive transfer.

BANDWAGON METHODOLOGY

The well-known bandwagon methodology is really a variation of the Siamese twin trick. This notorious Stockholm peace petition cleverly devised some years ago by the Kremlin is a classic example. In this case a fake petition was made to appear identical with a genuine petition. Then there is the bandwagon methodology in the past tense. You all know the hackneyed phrases of Communist propagandists such as "as is well-known," "as everyone knows," or "it is common knowledge." The assumptions here are that a plebiscite has been held to begin with and that certain common judgments have been freely arrived at by large masses of people. Neither are true. We might cite this sort of thing as compound rather than simple intellectual rape.

The fourth is the Albatross trick, which consist of "hanging a dirty adjective around the neck of an expendable noun," with due apologies to the Ancient Mariner. We might as well say right here that no noun has had more dirty adjectives hung on it than "profit." It is simply amazing how the Communists and leftwingers hate that word. This is natural because it is the symbol of a free, private-enterprise economy. Messrs. Vishinsky, Baranowsky, and Kiselev never say "profits" but always "gigantic," "tremendous," "new and greater," "fabulous," "exorbitant," "extortionate," "unconscionable" or "skyrocketing" profits. "Capitalism," is hardly ever used alone. It is always "monopoly capitalism," "finance capitalism" and "imperialistic capitalism." What the U. N. is doing in Korea is not merely "warfare"—it is always "aggressive warfare." And so goes the lexicon of social revolution.

The fifth is the lone-tree trick. This consists of pointing out a lone tree in a forest of ideas. It is ancient, and, philosophically speaking, it involves the fallacy of the isolated absolute. The practice of lifting a phrase or a sentence out of context to buttress a doctrine or document a point is an example of the lone-tree trick. Quoting from historical personalities such as Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln are other examples.

The sixth is the courtroom trick. This is used by the North Koreans and the Chinese to smear the U. N. In plain language, when a guilty party has no case he proceeds to smear the district attorney and the plaintiff in order to make it appear that he himself is the plaintiff and not the defendant. General Romulo, of the Philippines, threw an interesting light on this type of propaganda when in a recent speech before the General Assembly in Paris he indicated that the charges of the Soviets against the Western nations usually mirrored their own intentions.

The seventh is the time-machine trick. Communists have no hesitancy in turning the clock back to suit their purposes. They make the present seem like the past. Social abuses long since corrected by evolution or by legislation are made to appear as though they still exist. The time-machine trick is used in quoting from the writings of Steinbeck, Upton Sinclair, and others who have depicted some of the less attractive aspects of our American scene in the past.

The eighth, the last, and perhaps the most important of all, is the A B C trick, a semantic device which has had wide and subtle application. It is basic in the strategy of the Kremlin, for it carries an historical appeal designed to influence hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who are yearning for simple answers or a quick panacea to relieve them of their burdens and responsibilities. To achieve their purpose the Communists have designed a series of deceptive slogans to serve specious ends. Some of them are plausible and all of them are simple. You will recognize them as "end to the armaments race," "prohibition of the atom bomb," "all foreign troops out of Korea," "land reform," and "unity for Germany." The realities for the cure of which these slogans are offered in the sole interest of the Kremlin are, of course, much more complex. To answer some of these problems there is no quick formula, nor a magic solution which in many instances has confronted international bodies for over 50 years. Nevertheless, the Soviet slogans seem to have been convincing to half a billion people, more or less, at least for the time being.

The A B C trick comprises the scapegoat idea as well, this being the negative version. Just as you offer a benign slogan or symbol which is to cure all the



troubles of the world, so you offer its quick, packaged, opposite number. The cause of all the world's troubles—the universal scapegoat—good old “Wall Street.” It is as simple as A B C, but more lethal for the Western World than the atom bomb itself.

MORE SERIOUS PROBLEM

And so, in summarizing all of this, we venture the opinion that the situation is more serious and the remedies difficult, but the outlook is far from hopeless. It is obvious that we cannot write a program in a few minutes. All we can do here is to make a few suggestions. If it is to be dealt with properly the burden of handling the attacks of the Soviet propaganda machine will fall upon many shoulders, including your own. It will involve the efforts not only of government, but of those engaged in private industry and trade. Here are a few suggestions born of my own experience:

(1) We must organize ourselves as a nation and coordinate our efforts on the subject of propaganda. This needs legislation and competent personnel. It might even mean a Cabinet position for the ranking officer charged with the execution of the tasks we have mentioned. Yet organization and able personnel are not enough. There must be the necessary authority placed into the right hands. Admittedly a collectivist government would find the creation of an organization like this much less difficult than a representative government of checks and balances like our own.

(2) Our appropriation for propaganda and information is woefully inadequate. We understand that it amounts to about \$150 million per annum. In contrast to this the Soviet Union and its satellites are reported to be spending close to 10 times this amount. Perhaps they are spending as much in France alone, a key country, as we spend in all parts of the world. There are plenty of ways in which other less important Government functions can be curtailed in order to find funds for this purpose.

(3) Business must not leave the task to Government. There are many things some of our leading corporations and trade associations can do individually and as a group outside of Government efforts and also in cooperation with the Government. One of the best laboratories for working out such a program would be the forthcoming sessions of the U. N. and its affiliated organizations. This will call for some change in present State Department policies. Corporate managements, particularly those with overseas interests, must increase their ideological awareness. If this is done there will be no further excuse that any of them do not know what is transpiring in the U. N. and its committees, as has been the case in the past.

(4) Our men holding or aspiring to high public office should avoid intemperate attacks upon American business for political reasons. Our representatives or delegates in foreign service and in the U. N. have had a difficult task telling America's story. They should not be needlessly hampered or hamstrung in these efforts. Let us take a few illustrations. Last fall in the U. N. at Paris the Soviet propaganda machine kept hammering out the charge that American corporations employ “slave labor,” not only in their domestic business, but in their foreign operations as well. We have already referred to this in the case of Chile. Such charges are naturally absurd, but how can we make any progress if all the Soviets have to do is to quote, as they constantly do, some of the statements of our own Government agencies and Government officials? For example in the President's 1948 Labor Day address in Detroit he stated:

“Do you want to carry the Taft-Hartley law to its full implication and totally enslave the workingmen, white-collar, and union man alike, or do you want to go forward with an administration whose interest is the welfare of the common man?”

And, again, Dr. Isidor Lubin ably defended American business against the charge of widespread and almost universal monopoly made by Mr. Arkadiev at the 1951 session of ECOSOC at Geneva. Yet Mr. Arkadiev can sit back and grin, because all he has to do is to refer to some of the charges of Congressman Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Monopoly Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, which has been blasting corporate managements unmercifully with charges of monopoly practices for many years. And Mr. Arkadiev most assuredly possesses a copy of the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Concentration of Productive Facilities, written in 1947. This is a classic broadside accusing American industry, if not of widespread monopoly, then at least of oligopoly, meaning the Big Two, the Big Three, the Big Four, in various industries, and so on.

(5) We must assume the offensive. Merely answering the attacks does not pay. Perhaps the best quotation from the classics to illustrate this point is from the first philippic of Demosthenes. In his address to the Athenians about 315 B. C., he said:

"Shame on you Athenians for not wishing to understand that in war one must not allow one's self to be at the command of events, but to forestall them. You make war against Philip like a barbarian when he wrestles. If you hear that Philip has attacked in the Chersonese, you send help there. If he is at Thermopylae you run there. If he turns aside you follow him to right or left, as if you were acting on his orders. Never a fixed plan; never any precautions. You wait for bad news before you act."

(6) And last, but not least, let's stop apologizing for American capitalism. Let us stand up and be counted, and let us be represented abroad by men who understand our system and believe in it passionately. Examining the biographical sketches of many of our representatives one gathers the impression that they are people who have made careers in international law, in politics, in diplomacy, in social work, and perhaps also in public relations. Often one looks in vain for any training or experience in economic or in politico-economic matters. This is noteworthy in view of the fact that the great global clash of ideas in which we are engaged today is that of communism versus capitalism.

Apropos of this and in closing, I should like to quote an old Polish proverb which will illustrate this point:

"If you wish to protect the seeds against the birds, you don't send in the chickens as guardians."

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn at this time.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed, subject to call.)

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